

Wilson, Marianne Louise (2014) Community, kinship and piety: Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500. PhD thesis, University of Nottingham.

Access from the University of Nottingham repository:

<http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/44555/1/662210.pdf>

Copyright and reuse:

The Nottingham ePrints service makes this work by researchers of the University of Nottingham available open access under the following conditions.

This article is made available under the University of Nottingham End User licence and may be reused according to the conditions of the licence. For more details see:
http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/end_user_agreement.pdf

For more information, please contact eprints@nottingham.ac.uk

**Community, kinship and piety:
Lincoln Cathedral close
c.1450-1500**

Marianne Louise Wilson

**Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

July 2014

Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis of the unique nature of the community living in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century. The medieval cathedral close is an important unit of study which has been overlooked in existing historiography. This research draws attention to a hitherto neglected area. Testamentary evidence from inhabitants of the close is used, in conjunction with other sources, to analyse the individuals who constituted the close community, particularly their priorities and concerns prior to death. The first chapter outlines the structure of the cathedral hierarchy and analyses archaeological and architectural evidence for the nature of housing available to close inhabitants. The second chapter examines the identities of the close inhabitants and uses evidence of personal wealth extracted from testamentary bequests to delineate social status. The geographical origins and connections of a number of the close inhabitants are evaluated by identifying the locations to which testamentary bequests were made. Evidence for the education, careers and cultural interests of the close inhabitants are also explored. The third chapter surveys relationships within and without the close. It investigates case studies of testamentary legacies made to fellow close inhabitants, friends and family, as well as the executors chosen. The final chapter considers evidence for the different testamentary strategies employed in the pious, commemorative and charitable provision of the clergy, laywomen and laymen living in the close. It also explores the nature of local and communal pieties expressed by the community.

The outcome of this study is to shed light on the character of the community inhabiting Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500, which consisted of a high proportion of laypeople and clergy, mainly local to the city and diocese and largely from the lower ranks of society. As this study emphasises, a small proportion of higher clergy attended university and valued this education, with book ownership indicating in particular the scholarly interests of the close inhabitants. In addition to this, the specific housing arrangements meant that there was a high level of integration between the close inhabitants, whilst reinforcing social hierarchy there. Strong relationships also developed between

the chapter clergy, whilst family relationships and friendships were more important for the laity. Lincoln Cathedral was a central concern of the close inhabitants' pious devotions, with different groups of testators adopting different approaches to commemoration and charity, reflecting their distinct roles within medieval urban society.

Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Julia Barrow and Rob Lutton, who have supported me through this process with great insightfulness, encouragement and patience. I have really enjoyed working under the guidance of such knowledgeable supervisors who have never wavered in their enthusiasm for my study; they have been generous with their time and have brought out the best in me. This thesis is much richer as a result of their observations and advice in supervisions, always accompanied by tea and biscuits.

I am also extremely indebted to Nicholas Bennett, former librarian of Lincoln Cathedral Library, who has kindly taken time to help me improve my Latin and palaeography skills, and has shared with me his expertise in both the manuscripts and the medieval history of the cathedral and wider diocese. I am enormously thankful for Nicholas' assistance with the research for this thesis, for the many cups of tea and biscuits, but mostly for his invaluable support. Additionally, I give my thanks for the support of the Lincoln Cathedral Library team, including Julie Taylor, Carol Bennett and Carol Vincent, as well as Jessica Sellick and Ivan Annibal.

Thanks must be given to colleagues and friends who have helped the thesis on its way. Alan Kissane, a fellow student of late medieval Lincoln, has provided many valuable comments on drafts of my thesis, over numerous cups of tea and biscuits, as well as co-organising two successful international conferences in Lincoln with me. I am also grateful to Gwilym Dodd, Paul Dryburgh, Sheryllynne Haggerty, Julian Haseldine, Philippa Hoskin, Emma Lautman, Maroula Perisanidi, Matthew Phillips, Teresa Phipps, Joshua Rodda, Cressida Ryan and David Stocker for kindly reading and commenting on sections of this thesis. I must also mention my deep gratitude to the University of Nottingham and the AHRC for funding this project; my study would not have been possible without their financial assistance.

The thesis could not have been completed without the backing of my family. My sister Cassie, Uncle Ant, and late aunt, Chris, have wholeheartedly supported my academic endeavours. My mother Jo and my late father, Bill, always nurtured my

passion for reading and learning from a young age, taught me the value of education and inspire me to work hard to achieve my goals. My husband Tim has been my rock throughout this process, and has learned more than he ever really wanted to know about late medieval Lincoln Cathedral close. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Contents

	page
List of Tables	7
List of Figures	9
List of Abbreviations	11
Editorial notes	13
Introduction	14
Chapter 1: Lincoln Cathedral and the close	33
Chapter 2: Identities of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close	107
Chapter 3: Kinship and social networks	171
Chapter 4: Piety, commemoration and charity	225
Conclusion	291
Appendix 1: List of wills of close inhabitants 1430-1520	301
Appendix 2: List of residentiary canons 1430-1520	305
Appendix 3: Transcript of the will of Nicholas Wymbysh	329
Appendix 4: Transcript of the will of Ellen Retford	337
Appendix 5: Transcript of the will of Ralph Babthorpe	341
Appendix 6: Maps	344
Appendix 7: Images	350
Bibliography	352

List of Tables

	page(s)
Table 1 Dignitaries and their deputies for whom wills exist	42
Table 2 Archdeacons and Residentiary canons for whom wills exist	57
Table 3 Vicars choral for whom wills exist	60
Table 4 Chaplains for whom wills exist	64
Table 5 Minor officers of the cathedral for whom wills exist	67
Table 6 Lay male inhabitants of the close for whom wills exist	115
Table 7 Lay female inhabitants of the close for whom wills exist	115
Table 8 Number of testators with strong ties to a specific area of the medieval diocese	125
Table 9 Places within the West Riding of Lindsey where testators had connections	125
Table 10 Number of testators with connections in multiple dioceses in addition to Lincoln	127
Table 11 Number of testators with connections to dioceses other than Lincoln	128
Table 12 University graduates living in Lincoln Cathedral close c1450-1500	137-138
Table 13 Named books owned by cathedral close testators	154-155
Table 14 Roles of cathedral close book owners	156
Table 15 Numbers of books owned by cathedral close testators	156
Table 16 Categories of books owned by cathedral close testators	157
Table 17 Beneficiaries of book bequests from cathedral close book owners	166
Table 18 Number of chapter meetings attended by residentiary canons 1449/50 - 1459/60	179
Table 19 Number of chapter meetings attended by minor clergy 1449/50 - 1459/60	181
Table 20 Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by testators from the chapter 1449/50 - 1459/60	191
Table 21 Comparison of categories of people from whom testators from chapter 1449/50 - 1459/60 selected executors	197-198
Table 22 Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by female testators	204

Table 23	Comparison of categories of people from whom female testators selected executors	206
Table 24	Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by male testators	209
Table 25	Comparison of categories of people from whom male testators selected executors	214- 215
Table 26	Number of family legatees for all testators who lived in Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500	218

List of Figures

		page
Figure 1	Map of the close, drawn by Dave Watts, English Heritage (Taken from Vince, 'The new town', 180)	74
Figure 2	Anonymous painting of the inner Exchequergate (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery)	75
Figure 3	Painting of the close gatehouse by A. G. Webster at the north end of Pottergate looking south (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery)	76
Figure 4	Drawing with a sepia wash by Peter de Wint, looking towards the western face of the western close gatehouse (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery)	76
Figure 5	Plan of the houses in the close (Taken from <i>SOAH3</i> , 2)	79
Figure 6	An undated ground plan of the deanery, drawn in the nineteenth century (Taken from <i>SOAH3</i> , 21)	83
Figure 7	Ground floor and first floor plans of the subdeanery (Taken from <i>SOAH2</i> , 78-79)	86
Figure 8	A modern plan of the precentory (Taken from <i>SOAH2</i> , 85)	87
Figure 9	Plan of the chancery (Taken from <i>SOAH1</i> , 54).	88
Figure 10	Plan of Gainsborough Old Hall (Taken from Quiney, <i>Townhouses</i> , 201).	90
Figure 11	Nineteenth century painting of the exterior of Gainsborough Old Hall by Rev. C. Terrot (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery).	90
Figure 12	Ground floor and first floor plans of the combined tenements of 4 and 5 Pottergate (Taken from <i>SOAH1</i> , 81-82)	92
Figure 13	Ground and first floor plans of Atherstone place (Taken from <i>SOAH3</i> , 108)	94
Figure 14	Ground floor and first floor plans of Graveley place (Taken from <i>SOAH1</i> , 72)	95
Figure 15	Ground floor and first floor plans of 3 Greestone place (Taken from <i>SOAH2</i> , 22)	96
Figure 16	Ground floor and first floor plans of Cantilupe chantry house (Taken from <i>SOAH2</i> , 66)	98
Figure 17	Ground floor and first floor plans of the Burghersh chantry house (Taken from <i>SOAH3</i> , 96-97)	99
Figure 18	Plan of the Works' chantry house (Taken from <i>SOAH3</i> , 13)	100

Figure 19	Ground floor plan of the vicars' chambers (Taken from Stocker, 'The development of the college', 89)	102
Figure 20	Ground floor and first floor plans of the former choristers' house drawn of buildings existing in 1650 (Taken from <i>SOAH1</i> , 48)	104
Figure 21	A ground plan of the former poor clerks' residence (Taken from <i>SOAH1</i> , 36)	105
Figure 22	Virgin and child, late fifteenth century, alabaster, painted and gilded (Taken from P. Williamson, 'The parish church' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds), <i>Gothic art for England 1400 – 1547</i> (London, 2003), 392)	234
Figure 23	Jewellery from the Fishpool Hoard, deposited in Spring 1464, gold with various stones (Taken from J. Cherry, 'Dress and adornment' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds) <i>Gothic art</i> , 331)	259
Figure 24	Rosary beads, c.1500, beads of turned wood on a modern string, gold, engraved and enamelled (Taken from S. Foster, 'Private devotion' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds) <i>Gothic art</i> , 343)	260
Figure 25	The Erpingham chasuble, early 15th century (brocaded silk lampas ground Italian 1400-1415; embroidery in silk and silver-gilt thread, English 1400-1430) (Taken from Williamson, 'The parish church', 410)	266
Figure 26	Chalice and paten, London hallmark 1479-80, silver-gilt, engraved and enamelled (Taken from Williamson, 'The parish church', 413)	267
Figure 27	Map of all known parish churches, hospitals and monastic precincts in medieval Lincoln (Taken from Vince, 'The new town', 250)	279

Abbreviations

AASRP	<i>Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers</i>
BRUO1	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, volume 1</i> (Oxford, 1957)
BRUO2	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, volume 2</i> (Oxford, 1958)
BRUO3	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, volume 3</i> (Oxford, 1959)
BRUC	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963)
BCSG	D. Lepine, <i>A brotherhood of canons serving God: English secular cathedrals in the later middle ages</i> (Woodbridge, 1995)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
HS	D. Owen, 'Historical survey, 1091-1450' in D. Owen (ed.), <i>A history of Lincoln Minster</i> (Cambridge, 1994), 112-163
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
FL1	J. Le Neve and H. P. F. King, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, 1: Lincoln Diocese</i> (London, 1962)
FL3	J. Le Neve and D. Greenway, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, 3: Lincoln</i> (London, 1977)
LCL	<i>Lincoln Cathedral Library</i>
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
SOAH1	S. Jones, K. Major, and J. Varley, <i>The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: I: Priorygate to Pottergate</i> (Lincoln, 1984)
SOAH2	S. Jones, K. Major, and J. Varley, <i>The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: II: houses to the South and West of the Minster</i> (Lincoln, 1987)

<i>SOAH3</i>	S. Jones, K. Major, and J. Varley, <i>The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: III: houses in Eastgate, Priorygate and James Street</i> (Lincoln, 1990)
<i>SOAH4</i>	S. Jones, K. Major, J. Varley and C. Johnson, <i>The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: IV: houses in the Bail: Steep Hill, Castle Hill, and Bailgate</i> (Lincoln, 1996)
<i>SC</i>	K. Edwards, <i>The English secular cathedrals in the Middle Ages: a constitutional study with special reference to the 14th century</i> (2 nd edn., Manchester, 1967)
<i>TNA</i>	<i>Kew, The National Archives</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VCOLC</i>	A. Maddison, <i>Vicars choral of Lincoln Cathedral</i> (London, 1878)

Editorial notes

All quotations from contemporary manuscript and printed works retain the original spelling, except for sums of money, for which Arabic equivalents for all Roman numbers and modern symbols for pounds, shillings and pence are used. Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded in italics in citations from manuscript sources. Dates are based on the year beginning 1 January, apart from dates taken from the chapter accounts of the common fund, which are given in the format 1440/41, as these are based on the financial year running from 14 September until 13 September the following year. All locations have been modernised, as have forenames and surnames, which have been taken from *BRUO1*, *BRUO2*, *BRUO3*, *BRUC*, *SOAH1*, *SOAH2*, *SOAH3*, *SOAH4* and *VCOLC*.

Introduction

In the name of god amen. In the yere of *our* lorde M CCCCC and viij th the xxvth day of aprile and in the yere of king henry the vij th xxij th. I John Cutler priest and treasurer of the *cathedral* church of Lincoln of hole mynde and gode memory blessed be *Jesus* ordeyn make and declare this my testament and last will in this maner and order folowing. First in the beginyng I beseche almighty god the Fader ye son *and* ye holy gost iii persones and oon god to have *mercy* and pitie of me most synfull creature to whose *mercy* I comitt my synfull soul.¹

So begins the last will and testament of a cathedral clergyman who lived in Lincoln Cathedral close at the turn of the fifteenth century. The cathedral close, as a unit of study, offers a unique insight into the people and workings of a community closely linked with the day-to-day life of a secular cathedral. A close can be defined as an enclosure pertaining to a cathedral, which in the case of medieval Lincoln was separated from the rest of the city by a wall, erected after the completion of the new east end of the cathedral in 1280. The walling of the close established it as a distinct area that was under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral. The secular cathedrals were staffed by secular clergy, who owed canonical obedience to their bishop, as opposed to monastic cathedrals, which were staffed by regular clergy, who were members of a religious order and lived according to a rule.² Lincoln Cathedral was the mother church of one of the largest dioceses in medieval England; it contained 1,760 parishes and stretched from the Humber estuary in the north to the Thames Valley in the south.³

Dorothy Owen has suggested that in respect of Lincoln ‘city and close remained distinct from, and independent of, each other, and there is nothing to indicate either that the city existed purely to serve the cathedral or that the cathedral was controlled at all by the city’.⁴ This sweeping statement does not acknowledge instances where the city and close would have come into contact with one

¹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 19v.

² *SC*, 5-8.

³ N. Bennett, ‘Unpublished list of parishes in the medieval diocese of Lincoln’ based on H. Salter (ed.), *A subsidy collected in the diocese of Lincoln in 1526* (Oxford, 1909).

⁴ D. Owen, *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln 1971), 46.

another, for example through the Galilee court which was held at the cathedral weekly for residents and non-residents of the close.⁵ In addition, Ann Kettle's article on late medieval Lichfield argues that there would have been regular contact between city and close.⁶ Although it would be worthwhile exploring this relationship in future research, this study focuses exclusively on the inhabitants of the close and does not attempt to set this community within a wider city framework.

My doctoral research explores the lives, relationships and religious practices of the laity and clergy who formed the community of Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500. John Arnold has asked some important questions concerning how medievalists define the term 'community':

Who is included and who is excluded, and for what explicit or implicit reasons? Where are the borders (geographical and conceptual) of a particular community, how are they mapped and how are they policed? How conscious of their collective identity are the community's inhabitants? Do people belong to just one community, or can communities overlap? What 'makes' a community?⁷

The way that the term community is used in medieval studies reveals a variety of viewpoints.⁸ John Bossy and Gervase Rosser have argued that the key element of community is a voluntary and socially homogenous membership.⁹ This rigid understanding of community has been criticised, in particular, by Miri Rubin who has argued that rather than reflecting homogeneity, communities reflect instead a

⁵ LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 151r.

⁶ A. Kettle, 'City and close: Lichfield in the century before the reformation' in C. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *The Church in pre-reformation society: essays in honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985), 160-161.

⁷ J. Arnold, *Belief and unbelief in medieval Europe* (London, 2005), 106.

⁸ The rest of this paragraph is based on Katherine French's succinct summary of these issues: see K. French, *The people of the parish: community life in a late medieval English diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001), 21-24.

⁹ J. Bossy, 'Blood and baptism: kinship, community and Christianity in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries' in D. Baker (ed.), *Sanctity and secularity: the Church and the world* (Oxford, 1973), 129-143; G. Rosser, 'Communities of parish and guild in the late middle ages' in S. Wright (ed.), *Parish, church and people: local studies in lay religion, 1350-1750* (London, 1988), 29-55.

process of social interaction directed at common goals.¹⁰ Rubin's definition of community takes into consideration differences, such as those of occupation, gender and wealth.¹¹ These ideas have informed Katherine French's definition: 'community denotes the repeated interaction over time of a group of people with shared goals, interests, concerns, and ideals'.¹²

In terms of this study, the community of the close can be taken to include all clergy and laypeople that lived within the boundaries of the close wall in the late fifteenth century.¹³ This study also acknowledges the existence of multiple communities that existed within the close, such as the chapter.¹⁴ The multivalent concept of community, as championed by French and Rubin, will be tested throughout this thesis. The close is a significant community to explore because it was a select group of clergy and laypeople, who were largely, although not completely, segregated from the rest of the urban community. Before the 1530s it was generally the clergy who resided in cathedral closes and this pattern changed after the Reformation. At Lincoln, however, the gradual infiltration of wealthy lay inhabitants into the close began in the fourteenth century, although it is not until after 1450 that lay residents are recorded in any great number. This makes the close as an historical subject all the more remarkable, as it was an autonomous and exclusive area where clergy and laity lived and worshipped side by side. The greater lay presence in the close after 1450 explains in part why the late fifteenth century has been chosen as the focus for this study. Another important reason is related to the key source for this thesis: the will. Coincidentally, the late fifteenth century was also the period when the largest numbers of wills were recorded in the chapter acts, compared to the rest of the medieval period.¹⁵

¹⁰ M. Rubin, 'Small groups: identity and solidarity in the late middle ages' in J. Kermode (ed.), *Enterprise and individuals in fifteenth-century England* (Stroud, 1991), 134.

¹¹ Rubin, 'Small', 134.

¹² French, *People*, 24.

¹³ See Chapter 1, Figure 1, 74.

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, 39-44 and Chapter 3, 175-199.

¹⁵ See C. W. Foster, 'Unpublished list of wills, probate and administrations in the Lincoln Cathedral chapter acts' LAO FL.a.19 which calendars the number of wills in each volume of the chapter acts: LCL D&C A/2/22, 1305-1313: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/24, 1336-1348: 3 wills; LCL D&C A/2/25, 1342-1346: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/26, 1342-1346: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/27, 1384-1394: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/28, 1386-1395: 1 will; LCL D&C A/2/29, 1402-1417: 3 wills; LCL D&C A/2/30, 1404-1422: 5 wills; LCL D&C A/2/32, 1421-1440: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/33, 1438-1447: 0 wills; LCL D&C A/2/34, 1448-1462: 10 wills; LCL D&C A/2/35, 1451-1474: 52 wills; LCL D&C

This thesis will highlight the importance of a previously neglected topic: the cathedral close as a community that brought together higher clergy, lower clergy and laypeople from the upper and lower ranks of society, in a unique way. The close enabled individuals to transcend boundaries between laity and clergy and proximity to the cathedral united the inhabitants through regular worship. This research considers the layout of the close and whether the hierarchy of the cathedral was translated into the physical structure of the residential accommodation in the close. It explores who the people living in the close actually were and what we can learn about their backgrounds and interests. This study deepens understanding of medieval kinship connections and underlines the significance of the cathedral, as a focus for late medieval clerical and lay devotion and commemorative practices. It adds to research undertaken on the clergy and institutions of late medieval secular cathedrals in England and will contribute to the historiography of kinship, piety and commemoration in cathedral cities. However, it also stands alone as an innovative prosopographical exploration of the communities dwelling within a late medieval cathedral close by looking at secular clergy and laity together.

Historiographical review

Histories of Lincoln as an urban area that cover the later medieval period have neglected to give significant and detailed consideration to the close.¹⁶ The main historical survey of medieval Lincoln was written by Francis Hill in 1948.¹⁷ There is a chapter on 'The Minster and the Close' which is heavily weighted towards the history of the cathedral and, in terms of the close, documents its physical development and details its topography.¹⁸ The close is also mentioned regarding late fourteenth-century disputes between the city of Lincoln, the constables of the castle and the Dean and Chapter, which were mainly concerned with

A/2/36, 1465-1478: 14 wills; LCL D&C A/2/37, 1479-1492: 1 will; LCL D&C A/3/1, 1479-1502: 6 wills; LCL D&C A/3/2, 1501-1507: 13 wills; LCL D&C A/3/3, 1507-1520: 30 wills; LCL D&C A/3/4, 1509-1513: 11 wills.

¹⁶ The term later medieval period or later middle ages, by the definition of this thesis, refers to the chronological time period from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the Reformation of the mid sixteenth century.

¹⁷ J. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965).

¹⁸ Hill, *Lincoln*, 107-129.

jurisdiction and its profits.¹⁹ The most up to date and accurate source of information concerning the archaeology of the city of Lincoln is the 2003 archaeological study *The city by the pool* edited by David Stocker.²⁰ As one would expect, this volume gives detail about the topography of the close and its development in the medieval period.²¹ Notable aspects of the history of the close in Lincoln have been commented on, in passing, in other works. For example, there has been focus on the time spent in the close by Katherine Swynford, wife of John of Gaunt, who spent two periods there, from 1386/7 to 1392/3 and from 1399 until her death in 1403.²² However there has been limited historical coverage of the medieval cathedral close as a unit in its own right, focusing on the range of people within.

Looking more broadly at scholarship on other secular cathedral closes discloses similar results. Ann Kettle's work on the relationship between the cathedral close and the city of Lichfield presents information about the workings of a fifteenth-century close in broad terms.²³ More generally, this is complemented by Caroline Barron's recent analysis of the relationship between the precinct of St Paul's Cathedral and the city of London.²⁴ Barron's study uses wills, among other evidence, to evaluate the association between the inhabitants of the close and the London citizens. A recent unpublished MPhil thesis focuses on the careers of the late fifteenth-century canons of Lichfield Cathedral, rather than the community of the close.²⁵ Although these works do relate to cathedral closes, as noted above, they concentrate on a particular feature of a close rather than discussing the nature of the close itself.

¹⁹ Hill, *Lincoln*, 259-268.

²⁰ D. Stocker (ed.), *The city by the pool: assessing the archaeology of the city of Lincoln* (Oxford, 2003).

²¹ A. Vince, 'The new town: Lincoln in the high medieval era (c. 900 to c.1350)' in Stocker (ed.), *City*, 208-209, 211-212, 224-225, 232.

²² Hill, *Lincoln*, 167-168; A. Goodman, *Katherine Swynford* (Lincoln, 1994); J.H. Harvey, *Catherine Swynford's chantry* (Lincoln, 1971).

²³ Kettle, 'City', 158-69.

²⁴ C. Barron, 'London and St Paul's Cathedral in the later middle ages' in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The medieval English cathedral: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig: proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2003), 126-149.

²⁵ C. Southworth, *Pluralism and stability in the close: the canons of Lichfield Cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century* (Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012).

The coverage of the community of the medieval secular cathedral close is sparse in volumes of cathedral histories. The historical overview of the relationship between St Paul's and the city of London by Caroline Barron and Marie-Hélène Rousseau, in the most recent history of St Paul's, makes a passing mention of the numbers of clergy and their households who would have lived in the close.²⁶ There is a section discussing the role of the residentiary canons in the cathedral, commenting on their residence in the close, in Robert Swanson and David Lepine's article on the history of Hereford Cathedral in the later middle ages.²⁷ Nicholas Orme's recent history of Exeter Cathedral contains a brief section on the close, which explores the topography as well as the main disputes that occurred within the close in the late medieval period.²⁸ Barrie Dobson's chapter concerning the later middle ages at York Minster briefly mentions the close, but only in the context of the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter, and the physical appearance of the close.²⁹ Returning to Lincoln, there is a broad survey of Lincoln Cathedral in *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* but this merely touches upon issues of residence, putting more focus upon the administrative history of the cathedral.³⁰ A volume edited by Dorothy Owen contains short but informative sections on lay and clerical behaviour within the close; however these focus largely on the periods before and after 1450-1500.³¹ Although the close was directly linked to the cathedral, volumes of cathedral histories seem to have sidelined its importance, using it as background to discussion of the history of cathedrals.

There is a large body of scholarship surveying the architectural and archaeological history of various secular cathedral closes. Nigel Tringham's entry in *The Victoria history of the county of Stafford* includes a concise history focussing on the physical

²⁶ C. Barron and M. Hélène Rousseau, 'Cathedral, city and state, 1300-1540' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004), 34.

²⁷ R. Swanson and D. Lepine, 'The later middle ages, 1268-1535' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral, a history* (London, 2000), 48-86, especially 54-65.

²⁸ N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral: the first thousand years, 400-1550* (Exeter, 2009), 19-35.

²⁹ R. B. Dobson, 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500' in G. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A history of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977), especially 103-104.

³⁰ P. Wragge, 'Lincoln Cathedral' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906), 80-96.

³¹ M. Bowker, 'Historical survey 1450-1750' in D. Owen (ed.), *A history of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994), 164-210; *HS*, 112-163.

features and architectural history of the close in the early modern and modern periods.³² Archaeologist Ron Shoesmith has studied Hereford Cathedral close and its buildings, concentrating on the architectural development of the close from the medieval to the modern period.³³ Kathleen Edwards attempted to reconstruct the topography and investigate the building, letting and maintenance of the houses in Salisbury Cathedral close in the fourteenth century.³⁴ The architectural history of the houses of Salisbury Cathedral close has been explored in great detail in a monograph produced by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.³⁵ The accommodation of vicars choral within the closes of cathedrals and collegiate churches has been reviewed in a volume of essays edited by Richard Hall and David Stocker.³⁶ John Allan and Martin Dyer have conducted research into the archaeological evidence for a medieval gatehouse in Exeter Cathedral close.³⁷ These works on secular cathedral closes provide useful comparative material with the physical buildings of Lincoln Cathedral close.

There have also been several studies of the architectural and archaeological history of monastic cathedral closes but again, none of these studies have attempted to identify the community of the close. Most monastic closes, especially rural ones, were divided into an 'inner' and 'outer' court, both contained within the precinct walls. Inner courts usually housed monastic accommodation and domestic facilities, whereas the outer court was reserved for service buildings or agricultural facilities.³⁸ In Frederick Bussby's history of Winchester Cathedral, the close is scarcely mentioned and when it is, it is largely

³² N. Tringham, 'The cathedral and the close' in M. Greenslade (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Stafford 14: Lichfield* (Lichfield, 1990), 47-67.

³³ R. Shoesmith, 'The close and its buildings' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (ed.) *Hereford Cathedral, a history* (London, 2000), 293-311.

³⁴ K. Edwards, 'The houses of Salisbury close in the fourteenth century', *Journal of the British Archaeology Association*, 3/4 (1939), 55-115.

³⁵ Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Salisbury: the houses of the close* (London, 1993).

³⁶ R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.), *Vicars choral at English Cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005).

³⁷ J. Allan and M. Dyer, 'The medieval gatehouse of the chancellor's house, cathedral close, Exeter', *Devon Archaeological Society*, 63 (2005), 93-102.

³⁸ R. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral close, the evolution of the English cathedral landscape* (2nd edn, Woodbridge, 2006), 43.

in terms of repairs to the early modern and modern close.³⁹ However, the historical topography of the precinct of Winchester Cathedral has been reviewed from the medieval period up to the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Barrie Dobson has explored the renovation of the monastic accommodation in fourteenth-century Durham Cathedral close.⁴¹ Roberta Gilchrist's monograph on Norwich Cathedral close uses archaeological, visual and historical evidence to reconstruct the landscape and buildings of the close, and to explore the ways in which the buildings and spaces were used.⁴² Ian Atherton's article on the close at Norwich Cathedral describes the topography, and mentions in passing laymen living in the close in the pre-Reformation period, but his focus is clearly on developments after the Reformation.⁴³ The usefulness of these works to the present study is limited by their concentration on different historical eras as well as their focus on the physical buildings and use of space in cathedral closes.

On the other hand, various studies have been conducted in recent years on different groups of clergy living in late medieval cathedral closes. David Lepine has conducted several studies of canons at medieval secular cathedrals.⁴⁴ There is a key article by Kathleen Major which considers the role and appointees to the

³⁹ F. Bussby, *Winchester Cathedral 1079-1979* (Southampton, 1979), 123, 138, 139, 147, 162, 231, 240, 242, 305.

⁴⁰ T. Atkinson, 'Winchester Cathedral close', *Papers & Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 15/1 (1941), 9-26.

⁴¹ R. B. Dobson, '“The clergy are well lodged”: the transformation of the cathedral precinct at late medieval Durham' in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The medieval English cathedral: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig: proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2003), 23-40.

⁴² Gilchrist, *Norwich*.

⁴³ I. Atherton, 'The Close' in I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and A. Smith (ed.) *Norwich Cathedral: church, city and diocese, 1096-1996* (London, 1996), 634-664.

⁴⁴ D. Lepine, 'Education and learning at a medieval English cathedral: Exeter 1380-1548', *JEH* 32/3 (1981), 265-283; BCSG; D. Lepine, '“My beloved sons in Christ”: the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral 1300-1541', *Medieval Prosopography*, 16 (1995), 89-113; D. Lepine, 'The origins and careers of the canons of Exeter cathedral 1300-1455', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Religious belief and ecclesiastical careers in late medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), 88-95; D. Lepine, '“A long way from university”: cathedral canons and learning at Hereford in the fifteenth century' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson: proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2002), 178-195; D. Lepine, '“The noiseless tenor of their way”? The lives of the late medieval higher clergy' in J. Boffey and V. Davis (eds.), *Recording medieval lives: proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2009), 25-41; D. Lepine, '“High solemn ceremonies”: The funerary practice of the late medieval English higher clergy', *JEH* 61/1 (2010), 18-39; D. Lepine, 'Cathedrals and charity: almsgiving at English secular cathedrals in the later middle ages', *EHR* 126/522 (2011), 1066-1096.

office of chapter clerk at Lincoln Cathedral in the later middle ages.⁴⁵ Hannes Kleineke and Stephanie Hoyland produced a short piece on the household and daily life of the dean of St Paul's in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Ernest Jacob surveyed the role of the medieval chapter of Salisbury Cathedral.⁴⁷ Julia Barrow conducted a useful prosopographical study of the origins and careers of cathedral canons at London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester, York and Hereford in the twelfth century using Diana Greenway's volumes of the 1066-1300 series of John le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*.⁴⁸ Nicholas Orme's valuable volume of biographies of the minor clergy of Exeter Cathedral 1250-1548 uses material from the cathedral archives, episcopal registers and civic records to produce accounts of their ordination as clergy, their posts at the cathedral and their possession of other church benefices or posts.⁴⁹ The role and activities of the lesser clergy of St Paul's in the later middle ages has been explored by Virginia Davis.⁵⁰ An article on Lichfield Cathedral clergy in the early sixteenth century does retrospectively comment on the functions of the clergy in the preceding centuries; the focus of this piece is largely on the oligarchic chapter which governed in the later middle ages and the resulting disputes with the vicars choral.⁵¹ These studies have provided the context for the study of clergy who lived within Lincoln Cathedral close.

Some of these studies on groups of clergy have provided the inspiration and methodological framework for similar analyses of data in this thesis for the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close, c.1450-1500. For example, Lepine conducted a wide-ranging survey of the social and geographical origins of the

⁴⁵ K. Major, 'The office of chapter clerk at Lincoln in the middle ages' in V. Ruffer and A. Taylor (eds.), *Medieval studies presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford, 1950), 163-188.

⁴⁶ H. Kleineke and S. Hovland, 'The household and daily life of the dean in the fifteenth century', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004), 167-168.

⁴⁷ E. Jacob, 'The medieval chapter of Salisbury cathedral', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 51/186 (1947), 479-495.

⁴⁸ J. Barrow, 'Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 23-40.

⁴⁹ N. Orme, *The minor clergy of Exeter Cathedral: biographies, 1250-1548* (Exeter, 2013), see introduction, 1-30.

⁵⁰ V. Davis, 'The lesser clergy in the later middle ages' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004), 157-161.

⁵¹ T. Cooper, 'Oligarchy and conflict: Lichfield cathedral clergy in the early sixteenth century', *Midland History*, 19 (1994), 40-57.

canons which constituted the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, 1300-1541.⁵² Lepine's methodology followed the same pattern that he used to study the origins and careers of the canons of Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1455; he used ordination lists from episcopal registers, as well as toponymic surnames and additional background information to make speculative geographical attributions for the canons.⁵³ He also provided strategies for highlighting the range of social backgrounds from which the canons came.⁵⁴ Lepine's approach has been broadly followed for the first part of chapter two on identities. In addition, Barrie Dobson produced two detailed studies of northern cathedral clergy; in the first Dobson identified the individuals who were residentiary canons of York Minster in the fifteenth century and explored their backgrounds, careers and interests.⁵⁵ The second was a comparative study of the cathedral chapters of York, Durham and Carlisle in the fifteenth century, concentrating upon the impact of these cathedrals on the surrounding communities.⁵⁶ These articles inspired the second part of chapter two.

It is evident that the historiographical focus on secular and monastic cathedral closes, up until now, has largely been concerned with the physical buildings, topography, archaeology and architectural history. Any consideration of the people living in the close has, in the main, been confined to the roles of particular groups of clergy and the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter. The historical work that already exists for cathedral closes and also for different groups of clergy living within cathedral closes is useful to an extent, because it provides a comparative context for the study of evidence for Lincoln Cathedral close. However, there is currently no other study that provides an in-depth consideration of a cathedral close in late medieval England in terms of the physical structure of the close, the community that lived in the close, the kinship networks that developed within and the religious and commemorative identities

⁵² Lepine, '“My beloved sons”', 89-113.

⁵³ Lepine, 'Origins', 88-95.

⁵⁴ Lepine, '“My beloved sons”', 102-103.

⁵⁵ R. B. Dobson, 'The residentiary canons of York in the fifteenth century', *JEH*, 30/2 (1979), 145-174.

⁵⁶ R. B. Dobson, 'Cathedral chapters and cathedral cities: York, Durham and Carlisle in the fifteenth century', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), 15-44.

of the close inhabitants. The appraisal of a cathedral close, as an historical subject in its own right, is an approach unique to this study.

Sources and methodology

The administration of Lincoln Cathedral is perhaps the best documented of any English Church until the Reformation, but unfortunately this is not reflected in the amount of historical work on the close. I have attempted to identify as many people who lived in the close in the late fifteenth century as possible, using a combination of approaches. The starting point was reference works such as H. P. F. King's volumes of John Le Neve's series *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541* for Lincoln, which contains a definitive list of cathedral higher clergy for the period.⁵⁷ This was used in conjunction with the first three volumes of Kathleen Major, Stanley Jones and Joan Varley's *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln*. These extremely informative volumes include detailed building surveys and an examination of surviving administrative records such as the chapter act books, rentals and accounts in order to compile a list, albeit incomplete, of the clerical and lay inhabitants of the individual properties of the close.⁵⁸ It has been more difficult to ascertain the lay inhabitants of the close than the clergy, as it would have been usual at this time for all resident clergy connected with the cathedral to live in the close, whereas there is no definitive list of laypeople. Whilst searching the chapter act books for testamentary evidence of lay close inhabitants, it has been possible to identify a person as a close inhabitant by reading the text of their will, which often contain clues to indicate that the testator lived in the close, such as references to houses or land owned in the close, along with request for burial within the cathedral. A few testators even included the location of their house prior to death in the preamble to their wills, for example the will written by one layman begins: 'I, John Baildon, dwelling within the close of Lincoln'.⁵⁹

The main sources for studying late medieval Lincoln Cathedral close are held at Lincoln Cathedral Library and Lincolnshire Archive. For the period c.1450-1500, almost continuous sets of chapter act books, episcopal registers and chapter

⁵⁷ *FL1*.

⁵⁸ *SOAH1*; *SOAH2*; *SOAH3*.

⁵⁹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 133v.

accounts survive. The chapter act books are the key source for this project, as from them it is possible to gain much information about the role of the cathedral clergy and their relationship with the laity, and each other. The chapter acts were contemporary documents recording the minutes of chapter meetings and are an important record of chapter business. The secular chapter acts were initially recorded because the consent of a majority of the residentiary canons was legally required for all business.⁶⁰ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some chapters produced miscellaneous registers including articles from chapter meetings, for example York in the 1290s.⁶¹ Lincoln possesses one of the earliest surviving formal registers of chapter acts, beginning in 1305 and consisting of eight volumes for the fourteenth century, covering about 54 years. For the fifteenth century there are ten volumes of chapter acts and altogether these volumes cover 97 years of the century.⁶²

Most chapter act registers for other secular cathedrals began shortly after Lincoln and the surviving books cover varying periods. For example, the Salisbury Cathedral chapter acts began in 1329 and for the fourteenth century consist of five volumes covering the period 1329-1358 and 1385-1400. Edwards has commented that the Lincoln chapter act books were neither so well written nor as carefully kept as those of Salisbury. Her critique of the Lincoln books is that the folios are not always numbered consecutively, memoranda of different years have been combined and not arranged according to subject matter, there are many crossings out and interlinear additions and the writing is usually small and heavily abbreviated.⁶³ It seems that the Lincoln acts, more so than those of Salisbury, appear to be notes 'hastily jotted down at chapter meetings'.⁶⁴ These chapter acts remain unpublished; the only printed chapter acts for Lincoln cover the mid-sixteenth century.⁶⁵ In general, far fewer chapter act books have been published than episcopal registers and only a few of these cover periods of the

⁶⁰ *SC*, 28.

⁶¹ *BCSG*, 91.

⁶² LCL D&C A/2/29 1403-1417; LCL D&C A/2/30 1403-1420; LCL D&C A/2/31 1420-1427; LCL D&C A/2/32 1421-1440; LCL D&C A/2/33 1438-1448; LCL D&C A/2/34 1448-1462; LCL D&C A/2/35 1452-1474; LCL D&C A/2/36 1465-1478; LCL D&C A/2/37 1479-1492; LCL D&C A/3/1 1479-1502.

⁶³ *SC*, 29.

⁶⁴ *SC*, 29.

⁶⁵ R. Cole (ed.), *Chapter acts of the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln A.D. 1520-1559*, 3 volumes (Lincoln, 1915-1920).

fifteenth century, such as the Chichester chapter acts or the chapter acts of the collegiate churches of Ripon and Southwell.⁶⁶ The printed volumes seem to cover either much earlier periods, such as the chapter acts of the collegiate church of Beverley or later periods, for example the Westminster chapter act volumes or the Wells chapter act books.⁶⁷ The lack of printed material is surprising considering the wealth of detail that the chapter act books contain concerning the workings of cathedral government.

The chapter acts are a rich source for the internal administration of a cathedral and thus have been used at length in the production of cathedral histories. As sources in their own right, chapter acts have been used less extensively than episcopal registers and have not, unlike the registers, formed the basis of published scholarship. They contain a range of information varying between chapters, but the most common entries include admissions of canons, vicars and cantarists, the granting of the chapter's canonical houses and farms, entries of canons into residence and judgements on neglect of duty or moral offences of the minor clergy. However, the most significant information for this study found within the chapter acts is taken from wills, which have been copied in full into the chapter acts and which relate to identifiable members of the cathedral close. The Church had an important role to play in the will making process. In the early thirteenth century ecclesiastical courts established their unique jurisdiction of the right to prove wills.⁶⁸ It was the priest's responsibility to persuade his parishioners to make a will, as a vehicle for pious donations for the health of their souls, and reparation for past sins.⁶⁹ It was also usually members of the clergy that witnessed wills as they were required to by law and they were also often the most readily available source of scribal expertise. A last will and testament was usually made

⁶⁶ W. Peckham (ed.), *The acts of the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Chichester, 1472-1544, The white act Books* (Cambridge, 1951); J. Fowler (ed.), *Acts of chapter of the collegiate church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, 1452-1506* (London, 1875); A. Leach (ed.), *Visitations and memorials of Southwell Minster* (London, 1891).

⁶⁷ A. Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the chapter act book of the collegiate church of St John of Beverley A.D. 1286-1347, 2 volumes* (London, 1898-1903); C. Knighton (ed.), *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1543-1642, 3 volumes* (Woodbridge, 1997-2006); D. Bailey (ed.), *Wells Cathedral chapter act book 1666-1683* (London, 1973).

⁶⁸ M. Sheehan, *The will in medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century* (Toronto, 1963), 163-176.

⁶⁹ R. Houlbrooke, 'Death, church and family in England between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries' in R. Houlbrooke (ed.) *Death, ritual and bereavement* (London, 1989), 29.

close to the death of the testator and declares the testator's wishes for the disposal of their goods and property after their death. The usual procedure was for the executors of the deceased to prove a will before an ecclesiastical court by exhibiting the original document and this copy was registered at Lincoln by being copied into a volume of chapter acts or a bishop's register.⁷⁰

The value of studying wills in order to evaluate aspects of the testator's life, such as piety, or to draw conclusions about wider communities has been questioned by many historians.⁷¹ The nature of these legal documents, which are often formulaic whilst also containing vast amounts of personal detail and eccentricities, has led Peter Heath to comment that 'will-evidence [is] as treacherous to use as it is beguiling to cite'.⁷² There are obvious limitations to the reliability and usefulness of a body of wills as a source of evidence. Testamentary evidence is not representative of the whole late medieval population, as only higher-status persons would have been able to afford to make a will, and not all of these wills would have been copied into the registers of the Church courts.⁷³ Although many late-medieval wills survive, many more have been lost; there are allusions to wills that once existed in other documents such as chapter acts, which might have referenced executors, or inquisitions post-mortem, which referred to the lands of deceased persons, and might have mentioned a bequest made in a will. As a result, the wills of all the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500 are not available for study, there is merely a selection remaining. A further difficulty in using wills is that types of evidence contained in some are absent in others, which makes it difficult to answer specific questions systematically of large numbers of wills; this results in the production of more general qualitative conclusions.⁷⁴ It is also important not to place too much emphasis on gaps in provision or dispersal of land within wills; for example the

⁷⁰ C. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln wills registered in the district probate registry at Lincoln, volume 2: A.D. 1505 to May 1530* (Horncastle, 1918), xiv; C. Foster (ed.), *Calendars of wills and administrations at Lincoln, volume IV: archdeaconry of Stow; peculiar courts; and miscellaneous courts* (London, 1930), viii.

⁷¹ See Chapter 4, 230-232.

⁷² P. Heath, 'Urban piety in the later middle ages: the evidence of Hull wills', in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century* (Gloucester, 1984), 212.

⁷³ R. Lutton, *Lollardy and orthodox religion in pre-reformation England: reconstructing piety* (Woodbridge, 2006), 16.

⁷⁴ M. Zell, 'Fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century wills as historical sources', *Archives*, 14/62 (1979), 74.

fact that family bequests appear to deal with relatively minor moveable property could merely be indicative of an estate in good order, the disposal of which had been organised prior to the will.⁷⁵ This might also have been the case for the main form of pious provision, the establishment of an obit or chantry; testators were perhaps keen to ensure that this important and expensive long-term commemoration was organised to their requirements within their lifetime out of fear that executors might prove untrustworthy.⁷⁶

More crucially, wills only reflect a testator's intentions rather than whether these were successfully carried out. In respect of the question of reliability, it is unfortunate that there are so few corroborative records that can be used to test the fulfilment of large numbers of wills.⁷⁷ No late medieval churchwardens' accounts survive for the parish churches situated in Lincoln Cathedral close, or in fact any church in Lincoln, and there are also no probate inventories surviving, which could have been used to substantiate the testamentary evidence. Another problem with the reliability of wills is that the scribes or clerks who were paid to write them clearly used standardised forms, and it is difficult to determine how far the phrasing of wills reflected their own practice rather than the testator's wishes.⁷⁸ On the other hand, a particular personal devotion becomes more obvious when the phraseology of a will deviates from what has become accepted as 'formulaic', for example the dedication of one's soul. Despite these limitations, it is fair to say that wills such as these, surviving in chapter acts and episcopal registers, reliably represent the considerations of a large proportion of all will-makers and as such record the preoccupations of an influential section of

⁷⁵ C. Burgess, 'Late medieval wills and pious convention: testamentary evidence reconsidered' in M. Hicks (ed.) *Profit, piety and the professions in later medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), 21; P. Maddern, 'Friends of the dead: executors, wills and family strategy in fifteenth-century Norfolk' in R. Archer and S. Walker (eds.) *Rulers and ruled in late medieval England: essays presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995), 156.

⁷⁶ B. Gordon and P. Marshall, 'Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 9. See also C. Burgess, 'An afterlife in memory: commemoration and its effects in a late medieval parish' in P. Clarke and T. Claydon (eds.), *The Church, the afterlife and the fate of the soul: papers read at the 2007 summer meeting and the 2008 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Woodbridge, 2009), 202.

⁷⁷ Heath, 'Urban piety', 212.

⁷⁸ Burgess, 'Late medieval', 15.

society.⁷⁹ It is possible to glean evidence from wills in order to enhance our understanding of late medieval society, as long as the evidence is put into the context of the customs of the period and treated with care. Study of wills allows a useful window into the individual preferences and preoccupations of close inhabitants as well as highlighting ties of loyalty that existed between them.

It is contended here that the evaluation of testamentary material best suits the nature of this project as, in spite of the limitations of using will evidence, the will more so than any other document was the most personal reflection of what was actually important to the medieval populace. In order to best reflect the people who were living in the close in the mid-fifteenth century, wills have been included in this study within twenty years either side of the period of study, between 1430 and 1520. The majority of wills used in this study, 87 out of a total of 91, are unpublished and have been transcribed from the manuscripts of the Lincoln Cathedral Library Dean and Chapter act books.⁸⁰ The remaining four wills were sourced in the chancery records at The National Archives, as they were proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁸¹ Out of the total 91 wills analysed, 60 are wills of members of the cathedral clergy and the remaining 31 are the wills of lay members of the cathedral close, comprising 23 male testators and eight female.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of people who would have lived in Lincoln Cathedral close at any one time as evidence from *The survey of ancient houses* volumes suggests that the community of the close was not static - some people resided in the close for a short time; others remained there for decades. It is possible to make a rough estimate regarding numbers in the close in the late fifteenth century by using comparable data from the 1377 clerical poll tax for Lincoln, which indicates that there were 130 members of the clergy paying tax in

⁷⁹ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 16.

⁸⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35 1452-1474 (173 fos); LCL D&C A/2/36 1465-1478 (120 fos); LCL D&C A/2/37 1479-1492 (66 fos); LCL D&C A/3/1 1479-1502 (201 fos); LCL D&C A/3/2 1501-1507 (149 fos); LCL D&C A/3/3 1507-1509 and 1513-1520 (156 fos); LCL D&C A/3/4 1509-1513 (55 fos).

⁸¹ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 29v-31v; TNA Prob/11/17, fo. 163r; TNA Prob/11/16, fos 26r-26v; TNA Prob/11/7, fos 33v-34r.

Lincoln Cathedral close at that juncture.⁸² Nineteen of these clergy were dignitaries and residentiary canons and the rest were beneficed and unbeneficed vicars choral and chaplains, poor clerks and choristers.⁸³ Lepine indicates that the fourteenth-century poll tax returns suggest that the largest community of clergy lived in Lincoln Cathedral close, compared to the other secular cathedrals.⁸⁴ However this figure does not take into account the number of laypeople living in the close, nor the households that would have accompanied both clergy and laity. The lay poll tax for 1377 indicates that there were 157 individuals who were described as living within the Liberty of the Dean and Chapter of the church of St Mary, Lincoln.⁸⁵ There would also have been additional lay servants and children who would not have been eligible to pay the poll tax. It is possible to gain further insight into the approximate number of servants in a household by looking at testamentary evidence. Sampling testamentary evidence from the fifteenth-century close wills indicates that a residentiary canon would have had at least ten servants in his household; dignitaries may have had more and chaplains, vicars, poor clerks and choristers fewer. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the close in the late fifteenth century would certainly have been a sizeable community, perhaps between four and five hundred individuals.

The testamentary evidence from the chapter acts has been augmented by other administrative sources, including the chapter accounts. At Lincoln the accounts were kept in great detail, and were copied into volumes known as the audit accounts of the Dean and Chapter. These volumes, which cover much of the fifteenth century with few gaps, are often two or three times as thick as the Lincoln chapter act books for the same period and Edwards indicates that these books are among the most valuable material there.⁸⁶ In contrast, at Salisbury for the late medieval period there exist brief quarterly statements of accounts on parchment rolls. There are many gaps of years between these surviving accounts

⁸² A. McHardy (ed.), *Clerical poll-taxes of the diocese of Lincoln 1377-1381* (Woodbridge, 1992), 2.

⁸³ McHardy, *Clerical*, 1-2.

⁸⁴ *BCSG*, 6.

⁸⁵ C. Fenwick, *The poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, part 2: Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (Oxford, 2001), 34.

⁸⁶ *SC*, 31.

and several of these rolls are faded and torn.⁸⁷ The accounts begin in the late thirteenth century for Lincoln and its expenditure can be clearly traced, as Major has demonstrated.⁸⁸ The maintenance of the cathedral was organised by the common fund. The cathedral's income came from a variety of sources such as the endowments of a series of churches, in land and tithes, house rents, the endowment of chantries and obits, from pensions ordained by the bishop, from the Pentecostal pennies of the laity, the payments collected from non-resident canons and the offerings at all shrines within the cathedral.⁸⁹ The residentiaries received a carefully divided share of the profits of the common fund when all other payments had been made.⁹⁰ There are no such detailed accounts for the fabric fund, which accounted for the income from some endowments, although since this fund started later than the common fund, these were neither numerous nor large and consisted largely of houses and rent charges in Lincoln.⁹¹

The accounts have provided much useful general information, especially in relation to the residentiary canons of the cathedral. Each year, a list of the residentiaries receiving a share of the common fund was recorded in the accounts. This has been particularly helpful, as John Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* for Lincoln provides information on cathedral dignitaries and holders of prebends but no distinction is made between non-residentiary and residentiary canons.⁹² A case study of the members of chapter, 1450-1460, in chapter 3, has been created using information from the chapter acts and accounts. Other sources have been used to elicit specific information on particular subjects. For example, an edited version of Bishop Sanderson's (Bishop of Lincoln 1660-1663) text describing the monumental inscriptions within the cathedral, prior to the destruction of many of these monuments during the iconoclasm of the English civil war period, has been used to provide details of the words and images on the

⁸⁷ *SC*, 31.

⁸⁸ K. Major, 'The finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln from the twelfth to the fourteenth century: a preliminary survey', *JEH*, 5 (1954), 149-167.

⁸⁹ Major, 'Finances', 150-153.

⁹⁰ *SC*, 44.

⁹¹ *HS*, 143.

⁹² See *FL1*; also see Appendix 2 for a list of residentiary canons at Lincoln 1430-1520.

monuments of identified close inhabitants in chapter four.⁹³ In the same chapter, Christopher Wordsworth's edited version of an inventory taken by the treasurer in 1536 of valuable items owned by the cathedral, has been used to provide descriptions of gifts given to the cathedral by inhabitants of the close.⁹⁴

Structure

This study of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500 has been divided into four chapters. The first chapter is divided into two parts; the first outlines the significance and role of medieval cathedrals. This section defines the structure of the cathedral hierarchy, the roles performed by the cathedral clergy and the overarching relationships between these categories of clergy. The second part of this chapter explores the physical space and layout of the close, as well as the types of buildings that existed in the fifteenth-century close. The second chapter, also divided into two parts, deals with the identities of the close inhabitants, surveying evidence for their social and geographical origins or connections. The second section of this chapter discusses existing evidence for the education and careers of close inhabitants, in addition to their cultural and intellectual interests. The third chapter considers the kinship networks of the close inhabitants; the first part of the chapter is in the form of a case study of the relationships that developed between the cathedral chapter, 1450-1460. The second part of the chapter surveys the networks developed by laywomen and laymen who lived in the close in the late fifteenth century. The final chapter examines evidence for the pious, commemorative and charitable provision of the close inhabitants by looking at the religious identities espoused by the clergy, laywomen and laymen, as well as the nature of local and communal pieties expressed by the community.

⁹³ R. Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral: an exact copy of all the ancient monumental inscriptions there, as they stood in MDCXLI: collected by Robert Sanderson and compared and corrected by Sir W. Dugdale's MS survey* (London, 1851).

⁹⁴ C. Wordsworth, 'Inventories of plate, vestments etc. belonging to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln', *Archaeologia*, 53 (1892), 1-82.

Chapter 1: Lincoln Cathedral and the close

The context for the remainder of the thesis is provided by this introductory chapter, which begins by outlining the functions of medieval secular cathedrals and the importance of these churches in late medieval society. The chapter then briefly explores the foundations of the cathedral and the development of secular cathedral government. This is followed by an analysis of the relationship between bishops and the Dean and Chapter, and a detailed consideration of the structure of the cathedral hierarchy and the responsibilities associated with each role in the hierarchy. To begin with, the roles of members of the higher clergy are considered, and the positions of the four dignitaries: dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer, are discussed. The analysis continues with the role of archdeacons and residentiary canons, including a brief note on the non-resident canons. The duties of the lower clergy: vicars choral, chantry chaplains, poor clerks and choristers, minor offices of the cathedral, both clerical and lay, are explored. The second section of this chapter surveys the structure and topography of the cathedral close, and reflects on how housing was allocated within the close, the types of housing available and how these compared to other urban and rural dwellings. After an analysis of the nature of houses endowed specifically for the dignitaries of the cathedral close, the remainder of the properties available to residentiary canons and laypeople are examined in terms of their desirability. The accommodation provided for the lower clergy is also reviewed to conclude this chapter.

The cathedral and its hierarchy

The significance and role of medieval cathedrals

The secular cathedrals of England had an important and influential place in late medieval society. There were nine medieval secular cathedrals: Lincoln, York, Salisbury, St Paul's, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Chichester and Wells. These cathedrals were known as the "mother" churches of their dioceses. In 1321, the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral described it as 'Our cathedral church of Lincoln which is the mother and mistress of all other churches in the diocese of

Lincoln'.⁹⁵ The diocese of Lincoln comprised the entire modern counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, and Bedford as well as part of Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire until the see of Ely was formed in 1109.⁹⁶ Cathedrals were often physically imposing buildings, dominating the landscape. Lincoln Cathedral would not only have been the largest building in the city but also its position on top of a hill would have emphasised its status as a superior church. Even today, almost one thousand years later, Lincoln Cathedral can be seen from miles around and remains a symbol of the importance and magnificence of its cathedral city.

The cathedral services were considered to be extremely important, as the primary objective of the cathedral was to bring greater glory to God through the celebration of divine worship. This was facilitated by engaging members of the clergy to recite the seven canonical hours and celebrate Mass daily, as well as carrying out other religious duties.⁹⁷ The offering of Mass, a re-enactment of Christ's Passion, was considered the most effective course of intercession for both the living and the dead and was at the heart of medieval religious worship. The ambition of the cathedral clergy was to maintain a continual succession of services, in choir and at various altars. In the late fifteenth century there were 27 altars in Lincoln Cathedral, at which a considerable number of services would have been celebrated daily.⁹⁸ These were offered for the good estate of founders and benefactors of the cathedral whilst they were living and for their souls after death.⁹⁹ The laity and clergy alike were encouraged to attend these services in the cathedral for the sake of their spiritual well-being in this life and the next.

Pilgrimage to cathedrals to venerate the shrines of saints was an important means of showing religious devotion in this period. All of the nine secular cathedrals venerated past bishops and these were the saints around which regional cults developed, such as the cult of St Hugh of Lincoln. The belief that the shrine was

⁹⁵ *HS*, 31-132.

⁹⁶ *FL3*, vix.

⁹⁷ *SC*, 56.

⁹⁸ P. Binnall, 'Notes on the medieval altars and chapels in Lincoln Cathedral', *Antiquaries Journal*, 42 (1962), 68-80.

⁹⁹ A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English clergy and their organization in the later middle ages* (Oxford, 1947), 98.

where God made his power especially manifest stimulated a desire among the population to visit these places, with the hope perhaps of gaining spiritual satisfaction or physical healing.¹⁰⁰ As such, the cathedral became an important pilgrimage centre for laity and clergy alike. Religious plays and processions increased in popularity in the later medieval period; Lincoln Cathedral housed numerous pageants and sights between 1318 and 1561.¹⁰¹ As well as providing a form of entertainment, the plays also had an exegetical function: it was an opportunity for exposition of the central tenets of Christian doctrine to the clerical and lay spectators. The plays were understood to perform spiritual work, spurring spectators to contrition and salvation, and thereby effecting grace for the actors.¹⁰² Performance of religious drama would therefore have encouraged attendance at the cathedral for both entertainment and edification.

Cathedrals were associated with the Christian ceremonies related to birth and death, baptisms and especially burials. Many baptisms were performed at Lincoln Cathedral in the late medieval period, despite the fact that few families lived in the cathedral close, as the cathedral reserved the right of baptism for the parishioners of the church of the adjacent parish St Mary Magdalene.¹⁰³ Burial in cathedral churchyards was restricted to the clergy and community of the close in most secular cathedrals but it was sometimes extended to others. Burial inside cathedrals was even more limited; it was usually reserved for the clergy and a small privileged minority of laypeople. The location of the grave was considered closely related to the fate of the soul. Many desired the spiritual benefits of being buried within a sanctified space but they also wanted to establish a permanent association between themselves and the activity of the cathedral church.

By the end of the twelfth century, the English secular cathedrals had their own estates, administration and officials and over a period of centuries they evolved into independent corporations. This can be charted through the development of

¹⁰⁰ D. Hall, *English mediaeval pilgrimage* (London, 1967), 2-7.

¹⁰¹ V. Shull, 'Clerical drama in Lincoln cathedral, 1318-1561', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 52 (1937), 946-951.

¹⁰² C. Sponsler, *Drama and resistance: bodies, goods and theatricality in late medieval England* (Minneapolis, 1997), 153.

¹⁰³ D. Lepine, '"And alle oure paressshens": secular cathedrals and parish churches in late medieval England' in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds.), *The parish in late medieval England* (Donington, 2006), 37.

the rights and privileges of cathedral chapters; they managed to achieve exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for the churches appropriated to individual prebends and also the common fund by the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Although the cathedral chapters were less successful in challenging the visitation rights of their bishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,¹⁰⁵ they began to develop their own identities. There was a strong sense of cohesion among residentiary canons involved in cathedral business; they made a firm commitment to the cathedral and became well versed in its statutes, developing an awareness of its history that strengthened the sense of corporate identity.¹⁰⁶ It seems likely that the development of the community and the corporate identity of the cathedral were firmly linked. The canons were therefore more in control of their affairs and able to manage the business of their cathedrals like that of a profitable secular business, encouraging investments and partnerships. Cathedrals also had legal functions; in the later middle ages there was a complex hierarchy of courts held under the patronage of the Church. These courts applied medieval canon law to all levels of society, using canonical rules to settle the disputes that litigants brought before them and to discipline those infringing Church rules of behaviour.¹⁰⁷ The Church courts linked to cathedrals provided the clergy and local population with a forum for their disagreements to be settled within, under the remit of canon law.

Lincoln Cathedral in the fifteenth century was not just a powerhouse of prayer; it had a multiplicity of purposes. It was the mother church of the diocese but it also helped to serve the needs of the local community; not only a diverse range of religious needs but it also fulfilled legal, educational and entertainment roles. Crucial in enabling the cathedral to fulfil those roles were the people who served it, the hierarchy of clergy and lay servants. The cathedral was the church of the bishop in charge of the diocese, taking its name from his *cathedra* or throne.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the bishops took considerable pride in their cathedrals and continually sought to maintain high standards; in the mid fifteenth century Bishop Gray (Bishop of Lincoln 1431-1436) expected the cathedral canons to “give light to the

¹⁰⁴ BCSG, 184.

¹⁰⁵ BCSG, 184.

¹⁰⁶ BCSG, 186.

¹⁰⁷ J. Brundage, *Medieval canon law* (2nd edn., London, 1996), 120.

¹⁰⁸ JC, 98.

clergy and people of our city and diocese, by the example of their praiseworthy life and the mirror of their honest conversation".¹⁰⁹ Many types of clergy and also laity, served the cathedral holding different offices and the responsibility for different functions. In order to fully understand the community of Lincoln Cathedral close it is first necessary to appreciate the structure of the cathedral hierarchy, the roles performed by the residents of the close and the overarching relationships between officers of the church.

The development of secular cathedral government

The fourteenth century cathedral statutes reveal an elaborately organised system staffed by all ranks of cathedral clergy.¹¹⁰ The government of English secular cathedrals in the later middle ages was characterised by a very large number of clerical offices. On the eve of the dedication of Lincoln Cathedral in May 1092, there were twelve dignitaries – the dean, precentor, master of schools, treasurer, seven archdeacons and an official who was to become the archdeacon of West Riding (Stow) by c.1145.¹¹¹ The dean, precentor, master of schools (renamed the chancellor by the 1150s) and treasurer were the four principal persons or dignitaries in the chapter and they had become established in Lincoln Cathedral by the late eleventh century.¹¹² At Lincoln, by c.1133 there was also a subdean who acted as the dean's deputy and over time the other dignitaries also gained deputies: the succentor, the vice chancellor and the sacrist. The large number of offices made it easier to deal with the multiplicity of duties required to fulfil the work of the cathedral.

All four principal persons were bound to be priests, and unlike the canons, were prohibited from holding other benefices (ecclesiastical offices that bestowed an income on their holder) with cure of souls.¹¹³ The property of the cathedral was divided up into separate prebends. A prebend was a particular type of benefice connected with a cathedral or collegiate church, usually relating to a particular parish, which granted to the holder the income from the parish church, for

¹⁰⁹ Lepine, '“My beloved sons”', 89.

¹¹⁰ *SC*, 136.

¹¹¹ *FL3*, vix.

¹¹² *FL3*, ix.

¹¹³ *SC*, 136.

example tithes and other income from land, as well as fees and donations made in return for performing religious ceremonies. Regarding the dignitaries, their possession of a prebend qualified them to a seat in chapter and although the bishop was excused residence, his possession of a prebend still allowed him a place in the cathedral body.¹¹⁴ The four dignitaries became associated with particular prebends; for example the lands allotted to the dean at Lincoln were principally in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.¹¹⁵ The prebends gave the dignitaries an additional income and the right to be involved in the government of the cathedral.

The establishment of prebends in Lincoln is less easy to trace than the institution of dignitaries. The territory owned by the chapter was not divided into prebends at Lincoln before 1087; this division occurred later than some of the other secular cathedrals, such as St Paul's, where there are references to canons holding estates from the bishop before 1075 onwards.¹¹⁶ Bishop Remigius de Fécamp (Bishop of Lincoln 1072-1092) originally founded 21 prebends and his successor Bishop Bloet (Bishop of Lincoln 1093-1123) doubled this to 42.¹¹⁷ In 1290, the figure of 56 prebends was recorded and in the fifteenth century the number of prebends reached 58, making it the largest chapter in England.¹¹⁸ This process appears to be similar at the other secular cathedrals; at Salisbury, the property of the church was divided into 27 prebends in the mid twelfth century, later in the century this extended to 42 and by the later middle ages the number of prebends reached 52.¹¹⁹ Some of the prebends at Lincoln were very wealthy, endowed by numerous royal grants but also by bishops from their episcopal manors and local laymen from their estates.¹²⁰ Establishing prebends was a prolonged business, few prebends were founded with their endowments complete, and most gained supplementary estates, churches, tithes, etc over time. In addition, dignitaries could be endowed with lands, rents, dues and churches other than those

¹¹⁴ J. Srawley, *The origin and growth of cathedral foundations as illustrated by the cathedral church of Lincoln* (2nd edn., London, 1951), 6.

¹¹⁵ D. Williamson, *Lincoln muniments* (London, 1956), 20.

¹¹⁶ J. Barrow, 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century German and English practice', *JEH*, 37 (1986), 559.

¹¹⁷ *FL3*, vix.

¹¹⁸ *FL3*, vix; *SC*, 33.

¹¹⁹ J. Le Neve and D. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, 4: *Salisbury* (London, 1991), xxiii-xxxv.

¹²⁰ Barrow, 'Cathedrals', 559-560.

belonging to their specific prebends. The number of prebends at Lincoln was stable in the fifteenth century but the value of the individual prebends varied greatly.

Each of the four dignitaries was responsible for a different area of administration within the cathedral. The dean was president of the chapter and had cure of souls of all cathedral clergy, the precentor organised all the music and liturgy, the chancellor was responsible for administration and education and the treasurer maintained the fabric and furnishings.¹²¹ The residence of the dignitaries was different from the canons; they had cure of souls and special duties in the cathedral that made full residence obligatory for the greater part of the year, usually between two thirds and three quarters of the year.¹²² The next section will explain in more detail the contributions to the day to day running of the cathedral made by the dignitaries and their deputies, as well as the bishop, and the relations between the key figures in cathedral business.

Bishops and their relations with Dean and Chapter

Originally the bishop participated regularly in cathedral worship, assisted by the cathedral chapter, a body of clergy who formed a council for the bishop that advised him in the administration of his diocese.¹²³ Towards the end of the eleventh century, as bishops were constantly absent from larger dioceses such as Lincoln and often engaged in affairs of state, the office of dean was created as the ceremonial head of the chapter.¹²⁴ The chapter was responsible for electing the dean and he was able to admit new canons, celebrate at feasts, pronounce the benediction in the absence of the bishop and install prebendaries of prebends. The cathedral chapter eventually came to govern the remainder of the cathedral clergy and exert influence on the business of the cathedral at weekly chapter meetings. At Lincoln, the chapter consisted of the dean, chancellor, treasurer and precentor, the sub-dean, the eight archdeacons and the residentiary canons.¹²⁵ The chapter became increasingly protective over their increasing number of

¹²¹ *SC*, 137.

¹²² *SC*, 50.

¹²³ *SC*, 98.

¹²⁴ Srawley, *Origin*, 7.

¹²⁵ Wragge, 'Lincoln Cathedral', 81.

rights and privileges and resentful of the bishops' intrusions. As a result of this, bishops found it advisable to absent themselves from Lincoln as much as possible, returning only for events such as festivals, synods and ordinations.¹²⁶ The Dean and Chapter were regarded as ruling some form of autonomous ecclesiastical republic within the diocese.¹²⁷ Although the cathedral was the bishop's church, he had little bearing on the daily business of cathedral life.

The relations of the bishop and chapter in the later middle ages were complicated. There existed much uncertainty and tension regarding their respective rights and jurisdiction. This question came to a head in the thirteenth century, when Bishop Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253) claimed the right to hold a visitation of Lincoln Cathedral. This right was strongly resisted by the chapter.¹²⁸ The bishop's right of visitation was formally recognised following an appeal to Pope Innocent IV.¹²⁹ All cathedral canons could be summoned for a visitation by the bishop, or when issues arose that affected the interests of all, on the principle stated by Bishop Alnwick (Bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449) in 1439 that 'what touches all shall be approved by all'.¹³⁰ The bishops could also be summoned to settle disputes between the dean and members of the chapter. In these cases the bishop's award was known as a *Laudum*; the most famous example of this being the *Laudum* of Bishop Alnwick concerning the dispute between Dean Macworth (dean 1412-1452) and his chapter in the mid fifteenth century. By the fifteenth century, the bishop's role within the cathedral had developed into that of an occasional supervisor of cathedral affairs and mediator between Dean and Chapter.

Dean

There remain few detailed descriptions of the dean's office in statute books but initially he seems to have been assigned wide, though indefinite powers, in many spheres of cathedral activity.¹³¹ The dean's first duty was as a priest, for example

¹²⁶ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 74.

¹²⁷ *SC*, 100.

¹²⁸ *HS*, 158.

¹²⁹ Williamson, *Lincoln muniments*, 22.

¹³⁰ Srawley, *Origin*, 9.

¹³¹ *SC*, 143.

judging the moral lapses of the clergy, hearing their confessions and ministering to them when they were ill or dying.¹³² He exercised general supervision and discipline over the clergy and ensured that all cases brought before the chapter were heard and settled by the judgement of the chapter.¹³³ The dean oversaw the majority of cathedral business each day and was effectively in charge in the frequent absences of the bishop.

There is only one will existing for a dean of Lincoln Cathedral in this period of study – that of Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) – see Table 1. The dean's deputy, the sub dean, ranked as a dignitary, and like the four principal persons was required to keep full residence, and could act as president of the chapter in the dean's absence.¹³⁴ Geoffrey Simeon was resident from 1485/86 in his position as chancellor, before becoming dean in 1506/07, shortly prior to his death in 1508. This can be seen in Appendix 2, a list of residentiary canons, created using the available lists of residentiary canons receiving a share of the common fund, in the existing common fund accounts covering the period 1430-1520. Table 1 indicates that there are wills for three of the subdeans: Robert Ayscogh (1458-1471), Robert Wymbych (1471-1478) and Simon Stallworth (1488-1511). Ayscogh was in major residence from 1460/61 until 1465/66, entering minor residence briefly for 1464/65 and there is a gap in the accounts for the period leading up to his death in 1471. Wymbych was noted as a residentiary canon for the prebend of Centum Solidorum in 1465/66 but he was subdean during the period of missing common fund accounts. Stallworth was continuously resident for his tenure as subdean, as far as the existing accounts indicate (see Appendix 2 for full details).

¹³² SC, 144.

¹³³ Srawley, *Origin*, 9.

¹³⁴ Srawley, *Origin*, 11.

Table 1: Dignitaries and their deputies for whom wills exist

Surname	Forename	Status	Role at death	Earliest date held role	Source of role details	Reason for leaving role
Simeon	Geoffrey	HC	D	Installed 16/03/1506	<i>FL1</i> , 4	Dead by 20/08/1508
Prowett	Alexander	HC	P	Collated 04/04/1448	<i>FL1</i> , 20	Dead by 23/02/1471
Mason	Robert	HC	P	Collated 12/02/1482	<i>FL1</i> , 21	Dead by 16/09/1493
Hanson	Edmund	HC	P	Collated 22/11/1506	<i>FL1</i> , 21	Dead by 28/03/1512
Crosby	John	HC	T	Collated 19/12/1448	<i>FL1</i> , 22	Dead by 29/03/1477
Skelton	William	HC	T	Installed 23/07/1477	<i>FL1</i> , 22	Dead by 26/07/1501
Cutler	John	HC	T	Collated 03/08/1501	<i>FL1</i> , 22	Dead by 14/07/1508
Ayscogh	Robert	HC	S	Bishop's mandate admitted 14/04/1458	<i>FL1</i> , 5	Dead by 16/03/1471
Wymbych	Robert	HC	S	Collated 04/1471	<i>FL1</i> , 5	Unknown. Next S installed 26/08/1478
Stallworth	Simon	HC	S	Collated 05/11/1488	<i>FL1</i> , 5	Dead by 12/11/1511
Burn	William	LC	VC	Recorded as VC 1450	<i>VCOLC</i> , 80	Will dated 03/06/1455. Next VC installed 1457
Scalys	John	LC	VC	Recorded as VC 1499	<i>VCOLC</i> , 80	Will dated 23/05/1505. Next VC installed 1508
Leek	John	LC	Sc	Recorded as Sc 1426	<i>VCOLC</i> , 79	Will dated 24/01/1457. Next Sc installed 1457
Wright	Thomas	LC	Sc	Recorded as Sc 1498	<i>VCOLC</i> , 79	Will dated 02/01/1517. Next Sc installed 1517
Bell	George	LC	Sc	Recorded as Sc 1517	<i>VCOLC</i> , 79	Will dated 04/04/1519. Next Sc installed 1517
Key						
HC = Higher clergy		S = Subdean				
LC = Lower clergy		VC = Vicechancellor				
D = Dean		Sc = Sacrist				
P = Precentor		<i>FL1</i> = J. Le Neve and H. P. F. King, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, 1: Lincoln diocese</i> (London, 1962)				
T = Treasurer		<i>VCOLC</i> = A. Maddison, <i>Vicars choral of Lincoln Cathedral</i> (London, 1878)				

The relationship between Dean and Chapter

In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, there was a constitutional struggle based around the frequent non-residence of the deans. The deans were bound by oath to reside but were able to obtain licences from the pope to be absent, sometimes obtained on the plea of being engaged in the king's service, to go on pilgrimage or to study at a university. This situation eventually led to a disagreement between the Dean and Chapter at Lincoln regarding whether the dean's authority was by virtue of his dignity as dean or his position as head and therefore agent of the chapter.¹³⁵ Disputes occurred in 1314 between Dean Roger de Martival (dean 1310-1315) and his chapter, and again with Martival's successors Anthony Bek (dean 1329-1337), William Bateman (dean 1340-1344) and John of Offord (dean 1344-1348) in the mid fourteenth century.¹³⁶ The deans involved were all canonists and so very aware of their rights and their prerogative to defend them. This created serious problems with the chapters, who believed they should be able to share some of the dean's privileges, particularly during his absences.

The most famous dispute between dean and chapter persisted throughout the whole of Dean John Macworth's (dean 1412-1452) tenure of office. The chapter accused him of, among other things: neglecting his obligation to reside as dean whilst insisting upon claiming all the advantages of a residentiary and summoning the chapter on 'frivolous excuses' at inconvenient times.¹³⁷ Before 1418, the residentiaries made a protest containing thirteen articles of complaint to three arbiters, of whom the bishop was one.¹³⁸ Macworth in return challenged his brethren on a variety of points, including misappropriating the fabric funds, wrongfully selling cathedral treasures and talking during services.¹³⁹ In 1421 Bishop Flemming (Bishop of Lincoln 1425-1431) made an award on several disputed points but although the dean and William Derby (archdeacon of Bedford 1431-1439), on behalf of the chapter, bound themselves in £100 to observe this compromise, the quarrel continued. Macworth was opposed by all of

¹³⁵ Wragge, 'Lincoln Cathedral', 84.

¹³⁶ *HS*, 159.

¹³⁷ *SC*, 146.

¹³⁸ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 90.

¹³⁹ Williamson, *Lincoln muniments*, 21.

the residentiaries making up the chapter, except for Robert Burton (precentor from 1427).¹⁴⁰ The residentiaries presented a list of 41 articles of complaint against the dean to Bishop Gray (Bishop of Lincoln 1431-1436), in 1434 and Gray ordered the dean to remedy his faults.¹⁴¹ These frequent clashes between the Dean and Chapter in the early fifteenth century would have made it very difficult to conduct the business of the cathedral well, as their focus would have been diverted.

Macworth believed that the actions of the dean did not come under any other's jurisdiction and it was alleged that on 28 June 1435, whilst the cathedral was full of people and pilgrims, Macworth and a band of armed men entered and attacked Peter Partriche (chancellor 1424-1451), threatening him with drawn swords and daggers.¹⁴² Following his visitation of the cathedral, Bishop Alnwick (Bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449) intervened in the dispute in 1440 by attempting to codify the statutes of the Dean and Chapter, in his *Novum Registrum*; however Macworth refused to accept this.¹⁴³ He continued to disregard Alnwick's award and active strife with the chapter only ended at Macworth's death in 1451.¹⁴⁴ Therefore as the period of this study begins, the clergy would still have been reeling from the effects of this lengthy and disruptive dispute. Macworth's successor as dean of the cathedral, Robert Flemming (dean 1452-1483) was non-resident for the first ten years of his tenure, spending his time in the service of Henry VI and then in the papal curia.¹⁴⁵ Initially Flemming was not greatly involved in chapter affairs, leaving his role as president of chapter to the precentor, Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471). It could be the case that following the fallout from the Macworth affair, the chapter were happy to carry out chapter business between them, perhaps relieved to be free of the dean's influence and intervention. It should be noted, however, that Flemming did fulfil his duties as dean from 1462/63 onwards: the accounts show that he was resident until his death in 1483.

¹⁴⁰ *HS*, 160.

¹⁴¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 90.

¹⁴² Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 90.

¹⁴³ Williamson, *Lincoln muniments*, 21.

¹⁴⁴ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 97.

¹⁴⁵ *BRUO2*, 699.

Precentor

Among the dignitaries at Lincoln the precentor ranked next in importance to the dean. The precentor had control of the cathedral choir and responsibility for overseeing the musical services, the selection of lay vicars and choristers, and supervision of their training and education.¹⁴⁶ The precentor and his deputy were therefore in control of organising the most important function of the cathedral: to give glory to God in those ordered forms of Christian worship known as the liturgy. The daily liturgy was regulated by four overlapping and interacting cycles: the daily cycle of Office and Mass, the weekly cycle, the annual cycle of liturgical seasons and the annual cycle of feast-days. The precentor had overall responsibility for coordinating these services and the clergy involved.

The liturgy had its origins in the early Church and was developed and altered over the centuries that followed. In the fifteenth century the medieval Western European Church was dominated by the Latin Rite, which derived principally from the liturgical practice broadly known as Roman.¹⁴⁷ The monastic movement heavily influenced the liturgical formation of the Latin Rite. In the sixth century the Rule of St Benedict of Nursia developed a constant pattern of daily prayer called the Divine Office, which became a central part of worship for both secular and monastic communities.¹⁴⁸ The Divine Office was conceived for sung, communal prayer and was dominated by the recitation of psalms from the Old Testament in the Bible.¹⁴⁹ The Lincoln Cathedral statutes contain provisions compiled in 1309 for minimum attendance; if these were faithfully observed then about five-sixths of the full complement of vicars would have attended matins and about half all other services.¹⁵⁰ The succentor, acting for the precentor, was required among other responsibilities to draw up the rota of musical and ceremonial duties, according to custom and seniority, to supervise the choir and

¹⁴⁶ Srawley, *Origin*, 9.

¹⁴⁷ J. Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1991), 12.

¹⁴⁸ Harper, *Western liturgy*, 18; R. Pfaff, *The liturgy in medieval England: a history* (Cambridge, 2009).

¹⁴⁹ For more information regarding the structure of the Divine Office, see: Harper, *Western liturgy*, 18-19; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 6.

¹⁵⁰ R. Bowers, 'Music and worship to 1640', in D. Owen (ed.) *A history of Lincoln minster* (Cambridge, 1994), 50.

maintain standards of musical performance and reading in choir.¹⁵¹ The precentor ensured that these services were conducted appropriately and well attended.

The most important liturgical observance was the Mass.¹⁵² Many officers of the Church would have been involved in celebrating a sung Mass: the celebrant priest accompanied by at least a deacon and a subdeacon, the choir who sang the chants, a minimum of four servers including an acolyte responsible for the vessels, a thurifer in charge of the incense and two taperers to carry the candlesticks.¹⁵³ Mass would have been carried out multiple times daily; there would have been at least one sung High Mass each day, as well as a Lady Mass (Mass honouring the Virgin Mary) and at Lincoln, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were at least 38 chantry Masses performed by chantry chaplains.¹⁵⁴ The succentor would have been involved in ensuring the daily timetable of Masses was properly carried out.

The precentor was in charge of nominating for the approval of the Dean and Chapter those members of the choir enabled to take individual parts singing in the ceremonies. Whilst each canon had the right to present his own choice of vicar to the Dean and Chapter, the vicar's admission depended upon a favourable report from the precentor concerning his musical ability and singing.¹⁵⁵ Song formed an important part of the medieval education; the singing of the church services was based on a detailed study of metre and harmony.¹⁵⁶ In order to perform the secular liturgy, three distinct ranks of clergy were required: those performing the most important items in the ceremony, those performing less important items and then the choristers with unbroken voices.¹⁵⁷ It was crucial for the integrity of the services that the precentor should recommend only those of an acceptable standard for their role in choir.

¹⁵¹ J. Harper, 'Music and liturgy, 1300-1600' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.) *Hereford Cathedral: a history* (London, 2000), 382.

¹⁵² For a fuller discussion of the structure of the medieval Mass, see: Harper, *Western liturgy*, 114-120.

¹⁵³ Harper, *Western liturgy*, 121.

¹⁵⁴ Bowers, 'Music', 48; C. Wordsworth, *Notes on mediaeval services in England: with an index of Lincoln ceremonies* (London, 1898), 15.

¹⁵⁵ *SC*, 167.

¹⁵⁶ *SC*, 168.

¹⁵⁷ Bowers, 'Music', 48.

The precentor was in charge of the choir and the song school but it is most likely that the succentor or a special song schoolmaster actually taught the students. These types of schools developed with the secular cathedrals in the twelfth century and were so called because the boys were taught plainsong but it is likely that this included reading as well.¹⁵⁸ Choirs of boys, clerks and chaplains were established in the educational colleges of late medieval England. At Lincoln there is mention of the song school in the records from 1292/3 and the power of appointing the master of the song school, which originally lay with the precentor, had passed to the succentor by the mid thirteenth century.¹⁵⁹ Although the schoolhouse moved buildings throughout the later medieval period, ending up in the western part of the 10 Minster Yard plot, the set up remained the same.¹⁶⁰ The choristers' education was focused on the liturgy; the performance of this in daily services demonstrated practically the way to live a virtuous Christian life.¹⁶¹ They would be taught 'reading' in terms of learning to recognise and pronounce Latin words from liturgical textbooks, such as psalters and 'singing' in terms of plainsong and polyphony.¹⁶² The choir had primary responsibility for the preparation of the liturgy in conjunction with the vicars choral and therefore their education was particularly crucial.¹⁶³ The elaborate nature of medieval services and the continuous round of daily worship gave to the dignity of the precentor a special importance; he had the greatest responsibility for the conduct of worship in the cathedral.

There are three surviving wills for precentors of the cathedral in this period of study: Alexander Prowett (1448-1471), Robert Mason (1482-1493) and Edmund Hanson (1506-1512), see Table 1. Appendix 2 shows that Prowett was continuously resident from 1448 onwards until at least 1465/66; there is a gap in the accounts until Prowett's death in office in 1471, and both Mason and Hanson were continuously resident for their terms of office.

¹⁵⁸ N. Orme, *Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), 63.

¹⁵⁹ C. Garton, *Lincoln School 1300-1500, a draft history* (Unpublished Typescript, Lincoln Cathedral Library, 1981), 291.

¹⁶⁰ *SOAH1*, 48-49.

¹⁶¹ J. Flynn, 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century' in J. Morehen (ed), *English choral practice c.1400-c.1650: a memorial volume to Peter le Huray* (Cambridge, 1995), 180.

¹⁶² N. Orme, 'Education and learning at a medieval English cathedral: Exeter 1380-1548', *JEH*, 32/3 (1981), 268.

¹⁶³ Harper, *Western liturgy*, 42.

Chancellor

It was customary for the chancellor, who held the seal of the chapter, to be responsible for the letters and writings concerning chapter business.¹⁶⁴ However, the secretarial work of writing the chapter's letters, keeping the registers and recording its acts was rarely performed by the chancellor in the later middle ages; from the time when the chapter act books were kept regularly, a notary or chapter clerk was formally appointed.¹⁶⁵ The chancellor also had responsibility for organising the preaching at services and drawing up the table of readers of lessons.¹⁶⁶ The administrative work of the chancellor was generally passed to subordinate officers of the cathedral so that he could concentrate on his more important duties.

The main role of the chancellor was to direct and maintain the tradition of learning at their cathedrals. The Lateran decrees of 1179 and 1215 directed that cathedrals throughout Christendom were required to provide a master to teach grammar to poor scholars as well as their own clerks but also a theologian to teach priests and others with cure of souls.¹⁶⁷ The term 'school' was used to mean a variety of things in the medieval period; there was no set term for describing a certain type of school. Medieval writers invented terms such as 'song school', 'grammar school', 'school of theology' to describe schools by what they taught but they were also described in terms of organisation such as 'common school', 'high school' and 'free school'.¹⁶⁸ It is difficult to establish whether there were clear differences between schools that taught reading and song and schools that taught grammar.¹⁶⁹ Reading and song could be considered to be part of grammar but grammar also referred to the study of Latin words and phrases; therefore it is difficult to know precisely what was being taught at certain types of schools.

The history of the development of the various schools in Lincoln in the medieval period is challenging, as it is difficult to determine which school or schools are

¹⁶⁴ Williamson, *Lincoln muniments*, 3.

¹⁶⁵ *SC*, 212-213.

¹⁶⁶ *SC*, 212-218.

¹⁶⁷ Dobson, 'Later middle ages', 69.

¹⁶⁸ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 55.

¹⁶⁹ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 66-68.

being referred to in the records. The chancellor managed the school of theology and was required to lecture in it.¹⁷⁰ The chancellor supervised the grammar school affiliated with the cathedral, administered any endowments granted to it and appointed a master to teach there. The younger members of the cathedral community would have been educated there, particularly offspring of privileged laypeople, aiming at higher education. Boys usually entered education between the ages of eight and ten and the courses ran for between three and five years.¹⁷¹ The education of the young men was crucial to allow them the best chance of pursuing either a career in the Church or in secular society. After a basic education at a grammar school, young men who could afford to were able to take up basic studies at universities in business studies (such as letter writing, accountancy and common law) or the liberal arts and philosophy.¹⁷² After graduating in these subjects, it was possible to specialise in the postgraduate subjects of medicine, civil law, canon law or theology.¹⁷³ The grammar school helped to serve the educational needs of the choristers and other clerks attached to the cathedral and provided the basis for further study, if desired.

There are no wills for residentiary canons holding the position of chancellor at the time of their death. Geoffrey Simeon was chancellor 1485-1506 before he was promoted to dean; a role he upheld until his death (see previous section, 41). Table 1 shows that there is one will for the chancellor's deputy, the vice-chancellor, in this sample of wills. William Burn held this role from at least 1450, until his death in 1455, and there is evidence that he was present at some chapter meetings in the early 1450s.¹⁷⁴

Treasurer

The treasurer of the cathedral was in charge of care for the plate, vestments and other treasures of the cathedral as well as maintenance of its fabric and furnishings. He ensured that the treasures were safely guarded, well cleaned and

¹⁷⁰ *SC*, 196-200.

¹⁷¹ R. Hanna, 'Literacy, schooling, universities' in A. Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to medieval English culture* (Cambridge, 2011), 176.

¹⁷² Orme, *Medieval schools*, 53.

¹⁷³ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 53.

¹⁷⁴ LCL D&C A/3/4, fos 11r, 17v, 18r, 28r.

in good repair. It was his responsibility to keep an inventory of the treasures and account for its contents before the chapter.¹⁷⁵ The treasurer at Lincoln, similar to those at other secular cathedrals, was also responsible for providing candles and incense for the services and altars as well as bread and wine for communion.¹⁷⁶ The detailed instructions in the statutes regarding provision for lights and candles indicate the sophisticated protocol guiding one element of the customs and ceremonies.¹⁷⁷ The treasurer's role was important; he was responsible for providing some of the key elements of late medieval Catholic religious worship for the cathedral services. There are wills for three treasurers in this sample of wills (see Table 1): John Crosby (1448-1477), William Skelton (1477-1501) and John Cutler (1501-1508). Appendix 2 indicates that as far as there is evidence available from the accounts, all three of these treasurers appear to have been continually in residence throughout their periods of office.

Although the treasurer had overall responsibility for the cathedral treasures and fabric, he delegated many of these duties to a large staff of officers, headed by his deputy. There are three wills for the treasurer's deputy, the sacrist. It is evident from Table 1 that John Leek held this responsible position for 30 years and Thomas Wright for over fifteen years; this was clearly a prestigious position that a vicar would wish to maintain. George Bell only held the role for two years; he became sacrist in 1517 but he had died by 1519. The statutes of Lincoln Cathedral only hint at the extent and complexity of these duties and refer for further information to books that have now been lost.¹⁷⁸ Laypeople were regularly employed since much of the work of guarding and cleaning was not highly skilled. The most elaborate system of treasury officers was at Lincoln, for example the three bell-ringers doubled as the lay sacrist, the candle-lighter and the watchman.¹⁷⁹ The treasurer and sacrist would have needed the support of these officers to ensure adequate provision was made for the multitude of services and processions throughout the year.

¹⁷⁵ See Wordsworth, *Inventories*, 1-82.

¹⁷⁶ K. Edwards, *Salisbury Cathedral, an ecclesiastical history* (Oxford, 1986), 163.

¹⁷⁷ Harper, 'Music and liturgy', 383.

¹⁷⁸ Harper, 'Music and liturgy', 382-383.

¹⁷⁹ *SC*, 230.

Archdeacons

The earliest archdeacons were the leading figures among groups of deacons who assisted bishops with the administration of charity and welfare and of Church properties in the sees.¹⁸⁰ Within the Lincoln diocese, Bishop Remigius de Fécamp (Bishop of Lincoln 1072-1092) had appointed seven archdeacons by 1092 and given the areas of their jurisdiction as Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford and Huntingdon. Following this, the eighth archdeacon of 'West Riding' or Stow emerged as another archdeaconry, first mentioned in 1145.¹⁸¹ The work of the archdeacon, in our modern sense of the term, did not begin until after the Norman Conquest. Archdeacons could often enjoy the privileges of residentiaries in return for much shorter periods of residence. At Lincoln this was only 40 days, because of their diocesan duties.¹⁸² Within the cathedral, they were assigned places of honour in the choir and treated as the bishop's officials, although if they held prebends they could be admitted as members of chapter.¹⁸³ There are wills from this sample for two residentiary canons that held the position of archdeacon; the archdeacon of Bedford, Thomas Salisbury (1450-1460), was a regular attendee at the weekly chapter meetings in Lincoln in the 1450s and in major residence for much of the decade, until he protested minor residence from 1456/57 onwards until his death in 1460.¹⁸⁴ John Collinson was archdeacon of Northampton 1471-1482, and he was non-resident whilst he held this role but he had previously been admitted to chapter as a residentiary canon in 1449/50 until 1450/51.¹⁸⁵

Residentiary canons

The most important body of clergy at the English secular cathedrals were the residentiaries. In the later middle ages they were taken from differing social ranks

¹⁸⁰ C. Brooke, 'The archdeacon and the Norman conquest' in D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (eds.), *Tradition and change: essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall presented by her friends on the occasion of her seventieth birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), 3.

¹⁸¹ Srawley, *Origin*, 7; Brooke, 'The archdeacon', 17.

¹⁸² *SC*, 50.

¹⁸³ *SC*, 246.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix 2. Also, Salisbury attended 74 chapter meetings 1450-1460 – see Chapter 3, 179.

¹⁸⁵ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 22r.

and had varied outside interests and employments. A layman would have received his education at a grammar school, then perhaps a university and during this time he might have undertaken training as a clerk or vicar in minor orders.¹⁸⁶ From here he could progress to major orders and become a priest. He might then attempt to attract a powerful patron to present him to be instituted to a benefice as a canon. In order to be considered a suitable candidate for institution, one had to be aged at least 24 and have a reputation for learning and a moral lifestyle.¹⁸⁷ It was not necessary to be of priestly status in order to possess a benefice but canon law stated that beneficed clergy should be at a stage in their training so that they could become priests within a year.¹⁸⁸ Most canons were relatively well born, of aristocratic or gentry stock, and came from land-holding families rather than from the lower levels of society.¹⁸⁹ Possession of a canonry conferred status and wealth on an individual and was highly sought after; consequently the canons of the secular cathedrals were the most educated, successful and able ecclesiastics of their time.¹⁹⁰ By the fifteenth century, there were three principal ways of acquiring a canonry: collation by a bishop, royal grant and exchange. Access to these means usually came from a network of patronage and kinship connections.¹⁹¹ The most common of these was institution by the bishop. Many medieval bishops of Lincoln were put under considerable pressure from powerful patrons, particularly the king and pope, to appoint their clerks to cathedral canonries.¹⁹² The majority of canons at Lincoln in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were from well-known gentry families or had risen from obscurity by obtaining a higher degree.¹⁹³ Although it was relatively straightforward to fulfil the criteria for being instituted to a canonry, it was more complex to actually acquire one. The large numbers of unbeneficed clergy in the fifteenth century are a testament to this.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁶ For more about the university education of residentiary canons see Chapter 2, 132-150.

¹⁸⁷ Lepine, '“My Beloved Sons”', 67.

¹⁸⁸ *BCSG*, 67.

¹⁸⁹ Lepine, '“My Beloved Sons”', 103.

¹⁹⁰ Lepine, '“My Beloved Sons”', 90.

¹⁹¹ *BCSG*, 19.

¹⁹² Lepine, '“My Beloved Sons”', 100.

¹⁹³ M. Bowker, *The secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968), 161.

¹⁹⁴ See: R. Swanson, 'Problems of the priesthood in pre-Reformation England', *EHR*, 105/417 (1990), 845-869.

After canons were appointed to a prebend in a cathedral, they had an initial period of residence before making a choice whether to reside and serve the cathedral or live away from Lincoln and serve their prebendal churches.¹⁹⁵ The value of the prebends varied widely within chapters, for example at Lincoln the prebend of Crackpole St Mary was worth 6s 8d annually whereas Leighton Manor was worth £66.¹⁹⁶ The value of prebends also varied between cathedrals; in the valuation of benefices undertaken in 1291 the average value of Lincoln prebends was £40, the second most valuable prebends behind those at York which were worth an average value of £48 per year, whereas those of St Paul's were worth between three and seven pounds.¹⁹⁷ Although by the fifteenth century there were 58 canons holding prebends at Lincoln, the number of residentiary canons in the later middle ages was far fewer; Margaret Bowker suggests that this number varied between as few as three and as many as seven.¹⁹⁸ However, Appendix 2 sheds new light on this assertion. It is true that three was the minimum number of canons in residence but there were ten residentiary canons in 1440/1441 and although numbers fluctuated over the period, there were generally between five and seven canons in residence for much of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, yet there were eight in 1501/1502. At York the situation was similar; in the early fifteenth century there were six or seven residentiaries but by the 1460s and 1480s there were usually only three canons in residence and only two in the 1490s.¹⁹⁹ There were slightly more residentiary canons at Salisbury in the fifteenth century: there were between ten and twelve canons resident up until 1463 and then the numbers began to fall and in 1488 there were only seven residentiaries.²⁰⁰ This suggests that the attraction of residence was waning, not only at Lincoln but also at the other secular cathedrals by the late fifteenth century.

¹⁹⁵ *HS*, 139.

¹⁹⁶ Cole, *Chapter acts 1520-36*, 203-204.

¹⁹⁷ *BCSG*, 3.

¹⁹⁸ Bowker, *Secular clergy*, 161. Bowker suggests seven as a maximum number of residentiary canons at Lincoln but Appendix 2 suggests otherwise - there were ten residentiary canons 1440/41 and although numbers fluctuated over the period, there were eight in 1501/02

¹⁹⁹ Dobson, 'The residentiary canons of York', 153.

²⁰⁰ *SC*, 180.

There was a clear distinction made between the resident and non-resident canons; over time these two groups developed separate and sometimes opposing interests. In order to become a residentiary, a canon had to make his protestation of residence at a chapter meeting by asking to begin his residence at the start of the next term; the chapter would then decide whether to agree. At five of the secular cathedrals, including Lincoln, a strict probationary period was enforced in which canons had to spend most of the year in residence, attending all of the daily services sometimes without receiving any payments; a test of a canon's commitment to reside. Canons making major residence at Lincoln had to reside for 34 weeks and four days per year for a three year period whereas those in minor residence only needed to be present for one third of the year.²⁰¹ There were no set limits on which period of the year that residence should be performed in but this was quite a significant period of residence compared to the other cathedrals. The shortest minimum period of residence for a resident canon at York was 24 weeks, at Salisbury twelve weeks and at Lichfield, it was only eight.²⁰² Even after canons had completed their greater residence, residentiary canons at Lincoln, York, St Paul's, Chichester and Hereford were still required to be present at the cathedral for between three quarters and half of the year; this was roughly equal to the minimum residence required of the dignitaries.²⁰³ The long periods of residence necessary for residentiary canons may explain how they came to form a small and exclusive body that attempted to gain control over cathedral government and business, as that was primarily where their interests were centred.

The residentiary canons were, of course, required to participate in the daily round of cathedral services. Matins was considered to be the most important service to attend and was the only requirement at Hereford and Lichfield but Lincoln residentiaries had greater flexibility and were able to choose any of the offices to attend.²⁰⁴ Once in each quarter year, all residentiaries had to take on the role of hebdomadary canon and ruler of the choir for a week or a fortnight. During this time, the canon had to take a lead role at the services he attended and his duties

²⁰¹ *SC*, 52.

²⁰² *BCSG*, 90.

²⁰³ *SC*, 53.

²⁰⁴ *BCSG*, 91.

in the cathedral were much greater.²¹⁵ This was also the time when a canon's obligations of hospitality were greatest. The custom of hospitality from the residentiary canons to the inferior ministers of the cathedral 'in order to make life more pleasant for them' was a firm tradition in medieval cathedral life.²¹⁶ At Lincoln, the statutes indicate that the hebdomadary canon had to feed the deacon and subdeacon hebdomadaries daily, one vicar choral and provide breakfast for two bell ringers as well as providing a midday meal for between nineteen and 26 members of the choir on the Sunday.²¹⁷ These shared meals would have helped to facilitate relations between the higher and lower cathedral clergy.

Residentiary canons in the later middle ages were responsible for conducting the majority of the business affairs of the cathedral. They were elected to serve as, for example, financial officers of the chapter, keepers of the common fund and of the fabric, masters of the choristers and keepers of the muniments. Most of the current business of the cathedral was settled at the weekly chapter meetings, although the surviving chapter acts suggest that the weekly meetings were not always held or that their business had not always been recorded.²¹⁸ At Lichfield, chapter meetings had taken place weekly in the fourteenth century but by the early sixteenth century the frequency had been reduced to once every two months.²¹⁹ Attendance at the chapter meetings was obligatory but this was rarely enforced.²¹⁰ Nonetheless, the chapter of residentiaries had some control over all departments of cathedral life. There are wills surviving for eight residentiary canons from this sample of wills. Appendix 2 and Table 2 demonstrate that the periods of time residentiary canons spent residing in the close varied considerably. Nicholas Wymbysh appears to have spent much of his tenure as prebendary of Ketton (1427-1460) in residence. The surviving accounts show he was a residentiary canon from at least 1440/41 until he protested minor residence 1449/50. He returned to major residence from 1450/51 until he protested minor residence from 1456/57 onwards until his death in 1460. Other residentiary canons were present in the close for shorter periods of time towards the end of

²¹⁵ *HS*, 139.

²¹⁶ *SC*, 59.

²¹⁷ *HS*, 140.

²¹⁸ See Chapter 3, 174-198, for a case study of the chapter 1450-1460.

²¹⁹ Cooper, 'Oligarchy', 45.

²¹⁰ *BCSG*, 181.

their lives and it seems there was a tendency to opt for the lesser obligations of minor residence in the years preceding their deaths. Philip Tilney was prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453, and initially he was non-resident, although he is recorded as being in major residence from 1449/50 until 1452/53, a year prior to his death. John Beverley was prebendary of Aylesbury 1440-1458 and was initially non-resident until 1452/53 when he entered major residence, before protesting minor residence from 1463/64 until 1465/66. The accounts information is missing for the final few years of his life, as he died in 1473.

Table 2: Archdeacons and Residentiary canons for whom wills exist

[illegible]

Non-resident canons

The majority of canons were non-resident; these canons received their prebendal incomes but their only connection with the cathedral was their possession of a stall in choir; they rarely exercised their right to participate in chapter.²¹¹ There were two main reasons for the growth of non-residence: the limited nature of cathedral common funds and the fact that cathedral canonries provided a means of support to allow the canons to pursue, for example a university career or government service, or as a means of support to allow the canons to serve as clerks for the bishop's household or pursue a career in ecclesiastical service.²¹² At Lincoln the non-resident canons paid a seventh part of the income (known as a septism) from their prebends into the common fund.²¹³ The non-resident canons did not live in the cathedral close and therefore have little relevance to the present study.

Vicars choral

In England it became the practice that each canon during his non-residence was required to provide a vicar to replace him in the choir. As increasing numbers of canons became non-resident in the later middle ages, the ranks of the vicars swelled, allowing the greatest expansion in the numbers of a group within the cathedral foundation since the twelfth century.²¹⁴ Absenteeism among canons was not the only reason for the establishment of minor clergy such as vicars choral. In the twelfth century the higher clergy were being drawn into careers in administration and law, which left them less time to fulfil their duties within the cathedral. Additionally, an increasing number of private Masses were requested in this period which required the skills possessed by the lower clergy as well as higher: the ability to sing and celebrate Mass.²¹⁵ Therefore the vicars choral emerged as a rank of clergy in major orders, senior enough to celebrate Masses

²¹¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 77.

²¹² Cooper, 'Oligarchy', 43.

²¹³ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 77.

²¹⁴ *SC*, 256.

²¹⁵ J. Barrow, 'The origins of the vicars choral to c.1300' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral at English Cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005), 16.

yet junior enough to absorb the excess of Masses and services that the higher clergy had less time and inclination to perform.

There were two classes of vicars: senior vicars were in major orders whilst junior vicars were clerks in minor orders. In order to proceed as a cleric, it was necessary to be of legitimate and free birth and to not be physically deformed.²¹⁶ Many junior vicars would have progressed in their teenage years through the minor orders of porter, lector, exorcist and acolyte and then in their early twenties to the major orders of subdeacon or deacon, eventually becoming a priest.²¹⁷ In 1501 there were 25 vicars at Lincoln Cathedral, fifteen of whom were seniors.²¹⁸ Therefore, the cathedral would have been populated with a significant proportion of young men. In contrast to the canons, who had their own canonical dwellings in the close, by the later middle ages, among the lesser clergy such as the vicars, there was a partial revival of the common life. The arrangement of the vicars in communal quarters was an attempt to keep unlawful activities to a minimum and bring order and discipline to their lives. However, the Lincoln chapter acts reveal that the chapter's attempt to impose discipline through provision of communal living for the minor clergy was not entirely successful. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that only the clerical misdemeanours were recorded and there are no similar surviving records documenting the virtues of the vicars choral to balance out the disproportionate picture painted by the chapter acts. There are wills existing for eleven vicars choral from the sample of wills and many of these vicars spent their lives in the service of the cathedral (see Table 3). For example Robert Patryngton, who was admitted as a vicar in 1391, and had his will proved over 50 years later in 1453 and Thomas Grene, who was admitted as a vicar in 1439 and had died by 1475.

²¹⁶ *BCSG*, 66.

²¹⁷ J. Harper, 'The vicar choral in choir' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral*, 18.

²¹⁸ Srawley, *Origin*, 12.

Table 3: Vicars choral for whom wills exist						
Surname	Forename	Status	Role at death	Earliest date held role	Source of role details	Reason for leaving role
Traford	Nicholas	LC	Vi ch and Cp of John Mackworth's chantry	Admitted to chantry 03/05/1483	<i>VCOLC</i> , 67	Will written 15/03/1510
Walton	Thomas	LC	Vi ch and WaSP	U	N/A	Will written 09/03/1454
Darcy	Robert	LC	Vi ch and WaSP	U	N/A	Will written 18/01/1467
Patryngton	Robert	LC	Vi ch	Admitted as vicar 1391	<i>VCOLC</i> , 55	Will proved 12/04/1453
Cutt	Thomas	LC	Vi ch and Cp of Hugh of Wells' chantry	Admitted to chantry 06/11/1465	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 5r	Will proved 21/09/1471
Farforth	Thomas	LC	Vi ch and Cp of Henry Lexington's chantry	Admitted to chantry 22/09/1466	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 103v	Will proved 20/10/1471
Whynby	Thomas	LC	Vi ch	Admitted as vicar 26/06/1489	<i>VCOLC</i> , 68	Will proved 09/11/1512
Schipton	William	LC	Vi ch and Cp	Admitted as vicar 24/08/1420	<i>VCOLC</i> , 60	Will written 13/09/1455
Muskham	William	LC	Vi ch and Cp	Recorded as senior vicar 12/04/1453	<i>VCOLC</i> , 63	Will written 08/12/1474
Balderston	John	LC	Vi ch and Cp	U	N/A	Will written 24/05/1467
Grene	Thomas	LC	Vi ch and Cp	Admitted as junior vicar 31/05/1439	<i>VCOLC</i> , 62	Will proved 13/01/1475
Key						
LC = Lower clergy		WaSP = Warden of the altar of St Peter				
Vi ch = Vicar choral		U = Unknown				
Cp = Chaplain		<i>VCOLC</i> = A. Maddison, <i>Vicars choral of Lincoln Cathedral</i> (London, 1878)				
N/A = Not applicable						

As mentioned previously, individual canons had the right of presenting the vicar of their choice to act as their replacement to the Dean and Chapter, as long as he was a senior vicar in priests' orders.²¹⁹ This vicar would then have been examined in morals by the dean and in reading and singing by the precentor. If the vicar met the required standard then he was admitted by the chapter as a vicar of the church, initially for a year on probation, and afterwards in perpetuity.²²⁰ The vicar would then have attended a certain number of daily services in the cathedral, the canonical hours as well as other endowed anniversary Masses, representing the canon of a particular prebend. These services lasted from the early hours until the evening, a constant round of worship, which amounted to at least 70 services per week.²²¹ The statutes indicated that all vicars choral should know the psalms, antiphons and hymns by heart within a year.²²² The senior vicars would usually have had responsibility for celebrating Masses at minor altars in the cathedral for the benefit of the founders who endowed the Masses. The vicars were also recruited to perform a variety of offices in the cathedral, for example shrine keepers, witnesses of charters, sacrists and succentors.²²³ In terms of moral lapses or failures in their role at the cathedral, the vicars were answerable to the Dean and Chapter; all minor clergy were required to attend the weekly chapters where faults or negligence in the cathedral services of the preceding week were corrected by the dean or president.²²⁴ These appeared to be regular occurrences; there were many accusations of disorderly living directed at the minor clergy in the fifteenth century, including absenteeism, noise, fornication and rape.²²⁵ This would have created tensions with the more senior clergy.

The personal ties between the vicars and the particular canon that paid part of their stipends became gradually weaker in the later middle ages. This was a result of the small chapter of residentiaries extending its control and the vicars forming themselves into autonomous corporations.²²⁶ The vicars increasingly governed

²¹⁹ K. Major, *Lincoln Cathedral: some materials for its history in the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1992), 68.

²²⁰ *SC*, 273.

²²¹ Harper, 'The vicar choral in choir', 18.

²²² Harper, 'Music and liturgy', 381.

²²³ *HS*, 139.

²²⁴ *SC*, 277.

²²⁵ *HS*, 153.

²²⁶ *SC*, 273.

themselves in matters concerning daily life unconnected with their cathedral duties, and were subject only to general supervision by the Dean and Chapter.²²⁷ In 1432 the vicars at Lincoln were reprimanded by Bishop Gray (Bishop of Lincoln 1431-1436) for introducing a type of 'greater residence', modelled on that of the canons; according to the rules they created, a new vicar received nothing from the vicars' common fund for the first seventeen weeks of his residence.²²⁸ This was an attempt to limit their numbers and ensure a greater share of the vicars' common fund. The vicars of Lincoln received their formal charter of incorporation under the king's great seal in 1441; this confirmed the rights of the vicars as a legal parsonage with certain privileges.²²⁹ This was the final stage in the vicars' claims to self-government.

Chantry chaplains

Another type of clergy became a permanent fixture in cathedrals following the growth of chantries, which provided continual intercession for the departed, in the later middle ages. Chantries consisted of an endowment of land and rent, or money and goods sufficient to maintain one or more chantry chaplains, for a limited time or in perpetuity, to say daily Masses at an altar in the cathedral for the souls of the founder, his kinsmen and friends.²³⁰ There were more or less perpetual Masses in the cathedrals due to the vast number of chantries. A large number of chantry chaplains were needed to perform such duties; the study of wills reveals surprisingly large legacies for this purpose.²³¹ It is difficult to estimate how many additional clergy were actually provided, as chantries were frequently given to vicars choral, who were ordained priests and were already at the cathedrals, to supplement their stipends.²³² At Lincoln in 1535, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* indicates that fifteen vicars held chantries, but that there were also 33 other chantry chaplains in the cathedral attached to twenty more chantries.²³³ These chantry chaplains would have formed a considerable presence in the late

²²⁷ SC, 284.

²²⁸ SC, 288.

²²⁹ D. Stocker, 'The development of the college of vicars choral at Lincoln Minster' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.), *Vicars choral*, 76; SC, 291.

²³⁰ SC, 292.

²³¹ Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 142.

²³² SC, 295.

²³³ SC, 296.

medieval cathedral; the largest number of wills from this sample are from chaplains, there are twenty (see Table 4). It is more difficult to trace the length of time that chantry chaplains remained at Lincoln Cathedral as their admission was not monitored in the same way as it was for the vicars choral. Chantry chaplains were usually only recorded in the chapter acts when they were admitted to a chantry or being disciplined. Chantry chaplains were more likely to move between chantries in order to obtain a chantry with a higher stipend. Some chantries, such as the chantries of Bartholomew Burghersh and Nicholas de Cantilupe, which were well paid and the post included residence in a communal chantry house in the close, were highly sought after. Many chaplains who died as chaplains to these chantries had retained their position for a number of years, for example William Swete had been one of the chaplains of the Cantilupe chantry for almost 25 years and similarly John Lumpner had been one of the Burghersh chantry chaplains for 23 years.

Table 4: Chaplains for whom wills exist						
Surname	Forename	Status	Role at death	Earliest date held role	Source of role details	Reason for leaving role
Copeland	Richard	LC	Cp of Works chantry	Admitted as Cp 30/09/1452	LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 24v	Will written 06/02/1455
Swete	William	LC	Cp of Nicholas de Cantilupe's chantry	Admitted as Cp 12/01/1437	LCL D&C A/2/32, fo. 102r	Will written 20/10/1460
Knight	William	LC	Cp Un	U	N/A	Will written 16/04/1462
Wigfall	William	LC	Cp Un	U	N/A	Will written 20/06/1464
			Cp of William son of Wolfe, Richard de Stretton			
Wyche	John	LC	and John Haryngton's chantry	U	N/A	Replaced as chantry chaplain 04/02/1477
Lumpner	John	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	Admitted as Cp 25/07/1445	LCL D&C A/2/33, fo. 15r	Will written 29/11/1468
Carver	William	LC	Cp Un	U	N/A	Will written 12/09/1471
Wright	William	LC	Cp of John Gynewell's chantry	Admitted as Cp 11/04/1468	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 28r	Will written 21/09/1475
Burton	William	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	U	N/A	Will written 20/04/1476
Jonson	Richard	LC	Cp of Works chantry	U	N/A	Will written 16/10/1498
Ingham	William	LC	Cp Un	U	N/A	Will written 08/06/1499
Docking	William	LC	Cp Un	U	N/A	Will written 04/10/1501
Watson	John	LC	Cp Robert Flemming's chantry	Admitted as Cp 18/10/1483	LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 24v	Will written 07/12/1502
Pecoke	Robert	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	Admitted as Cp 12/07/1489	LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 65r	Will written 26/06/1504
Johnson	William	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	U	N/A	Will written 07/02/1508
Oldam	John	LC	Cp of Richard de Whitwell's chantry	U	N/A	Will written 27/05/1508
Dighton	William	LC	Cp of Hugh of Wells' chantry	Admitted as Cp 30/08/1438	LCL D&C A/2/32, fo. 132r	Will written 20/08/1509
Gyll	Thomas	LC	Cp of Works chantry	U	N/A	Will written 13/07/1513
Horner	Oliver	LC	Cp of Works chantry	U	N/A	Will written 10/11/1515
Castell	John	LC	Cp of Works chantry	U	N/A	Will written 06/05/1517
Key						
LC = Lower clergy		U = Unknown				
Cp = Chaplain		N/A = Not applicable				
Un = Unspecified						

The position of chantry chaplains who were not vicars choral in secular cathedrals was interesting. Despite the fact that chantry chaplains were primarily concerned with special services that were subsidiary to the main cathedral services, and were supported by separate endowments not connected to the chapter's common fund, they were considered by the Dean and Chapter as belonging to the cathedral foundation and were subject to a large measure of control.²³⁴ Chantry chaplains were bound to take part in the services of choir and were also subject to the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter in matters of discipline, similarly to other minor clergy. The chapter closely supervised the chantry chaplains' performance of the offices for the dead, prescribed in the foundation deeds of their chantries, and had the power to deprive or otherwise punish any chantry chaplains who defrauded the souls of their benefactors of their Masses.²³⁵ This indicates the crucial importance to the chapter of the chantry chaplains' good behaviour and diligent attitude towards their work.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was becoming fashionable for wealthy benefactors to found chantries for more than one or two chaplains; these were called colleges and they could consist of as many as thirteen chaplains. Lincoln Cathedral had three or four chantry colleges of a similar kind: the Cantilupe chantry, the Works chantry (for three chaplains supported from the cathedral fabric fund), the Faldingworth chantries and the Burghersh chantry.²³⁶ The Burghersh chantry consisted of six chaplains, a clerk and seven boys; the boys acted as choristers at their chantry altar and had a separate master to instruct them in grammar and song.²³⁷ The allocation of chantry chaplains to particular chantry colleges would have affected the relationships between them and the remaining chantry chaplains.

Poor clerks

In the later middle ages there was a group of clerks in the cathedral whose duties were especially connected with the chantry chaplains; in some cathedrals they

²³⁴ *SC*, 297.

²³⁵ *SC*, 289.

²³⁶ Srawley, *Origin*, 13.

²³⁷ *SC*, 305.

were referred to as 'secondaries', at Lincoln they were called 'poor clerks'.²³⁸ The appointments of the poor clerks occur in the first existing chapter act books of the fourteenth century; at that time there were five and they ranged in age between nineteen and 24.²³⁹ The chapter of Salisbury customarily appointed poor clerks from among the cathedral choristers whose voices had broken but who were not yet old enough to be vicars choral; this was probably the practice at most secular cathedrals.²⁴⁰ One of the vicars choral for whom a will survives in this sample, Nicholas Traford, made the transition from poor clerk to vicar.²⁴¹ There is only one will in this sample for clergy holding the role of poor clerk at death, Richard Patryngton (see Table 5). There were never more than twelve poor clerks at any one time and the body of poor clerks had duties assisting the priests at Mass, attending services in choir and they also had the keepership of various altars in the church.²⁴² There is little evidence available concerning the stipends of poor clerks but Lincoln was the only secular cathedral that acquired a common hall in the close and common endowments for its poor clerks.²⁴³ The idea of communal living, similar to that of the vicars choral, was to enforce discipline; attempts to keep the minor clergy in order appear to have been a prominent feature of cathedral life in the later middle ages.

²³⁸ *SC*, 309.

²³⁹ Wragge, 'Lincoln Cathedral', 82.

²⁴⁰ *SC*, 309.

²⁴¹ *VCOLC*, 66.

²⁴² Srawley, *Origin*, 12.

²⁴³ *SC*, 313.

Table 5: Minor officers of the cathedral for whom wills exist						
Surname	Forename	Status	Role at death	Earliest date held role	Source of role details	Reason for leaving role
Patryngton	Richard	LC	Pc	U	N/A	Will undated but entered before an entry in the Chapter Acts dated 1452
Gash	William	LC	Cl	U	N/A	Will written 03/01/1520
				Noted as having this role		
Myles	Richard	LC	Cl of the common chamber	01/09/1455	LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 50v	Will written 18/01/1467
Kyrke	William	LC	V	U	N/A	Will written 10/10/1474
Key						
LC = Lower clergy		V = Verger				
Pc = Poor clerk		U = Unknown				
Cl = Clerk		N/A = Not applicable				

Choristers

The choristers were originally supported by the alms of the canons but in 1264 Bishop Gravesend assigned them certain revenues, ruled that they should live together under a master and fixed their number at twelve. The master was appointed by the Dean and Chapter and had to render annual account to them but he was also supervised by a residentiary canon, called the warden of the choristers. The choristers were also supervised, in terms of instruction and discipline, by the precentor.²⁴⁴ Their principal duty was singing chant, especially at matins, High Mass and vespers, but the choristers also helped in reading the scripture lessons and in the ceremonial of the services, acting as cross bearers, censers, taperers and water bearers.²⁴⁵ The choristers, despite their lack of seniority, played a principal part in helping to facilitate the daily services of the cathedral. The proper education of the choristers was considered vital because quite often they rose up through the ranks. The choristers had the potential to form the next generation of priests and their training was thus considered essential. There are no wills for choristers in this sample.

Other officers of the cathedral

There were many offices to fill within the secular cathedrals and these officers were drawn from all ranks of cathedral staff, including the minor and major clergy and lay servants. Table 5 shows the wills from this sample for the minor officers of Lincoln Cathedral. The treasurer and the chancellor particularly required a large staff of officers to carry out their duties in the cathedral. There were also various posts relating to the finances of the chapter. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, two canons held the office of warden of the fabric, taking responsibility for the resources of the fabric.²⁴⁶ The chapter elected these canons at the beginning of the financial year in September; they usually held the office for two years and were given administrative aid by the clerk of the fabric.²⁴⁷ The clerk of the common chamber distributed the common revenues as

²⁴⁴ Srawley, *Origin*, 13.

²⁴⁵ Flynn, 'The education', 180.

²⁴⁶ Major, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 65.

²⁴⁷ Major, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 67.

well as other tasks such as receiving rents, holding the audit, reporting on the dilapidations in the cathedral and close and arranging repairs.²⁴⁸ The will survives in this sample for Richard Myles, clerk of the common chamber, who held this role for at least ten years (see Table 5). The provost supervised the clerk of the common chamber and was annually elected from the chapter. He often served for a long period and administered the common fund.²⁴⁹ The role of the provost was less important in the English cathedral than on the continent, for example in Germany the provost had more responsibility dealing with tenancies and prebendal estates.²⁵⁰ The income of the common fund came from diverse sources such as endowments of a series of churches, chantries and obits, house rents, Pentecostal pennies of the laity, septisms and shrine offerings.²⁵¹ He was assisted by a clerk of Re(cedendi) and Ve(niendi) who carefully accounted for canons going from and coming into residence.²⁵² In addition, there were legal officials; the most important of these was the auditor of causes and warden of St Peter's altar. The auditor was a legal official who dealt with ecclesiastical cases under the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, in addition to the prestige of holding the chantry of St Peter's altar, the richest chantry in the cathedral, where Mass was said for the souls of deceased bishops.²⁵³ These financial and legal offices would have carried a certain amount of prestige within the cathedral community.

Some minor clergy were given particularly important duties, for example the chapter clerk and other officials who took over the secretarial administration of chapter business. The chapter clerk was the most significant of these; a professional scribe who was in charge of the chapter's letters and record keeping. When it became customary in the fourteenth century to keep minutes of chapter meetings, the chapter clerk was responsible for recording in the chapter act books the business transacted.²⁵⁴ John Pakyngton was the longest serving chapter clerk (1442-1479) and probably the first married clerk, as by the fifteenth century those in minor orders were able to marry and had ceased to be clerks in the old

²⁴⁸ *HS*, 145.

²⁴⁹ Williamson, *Lincoln Muniments*, 29.

²⁵⁰ Barrow, 'Cathedrals', 542-545.

²⁵¹ *HS*, 142.

²⁵² Major, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 77.

²⁵³ Major, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 72.

²⁵⁴ Major, 'Office', 163.

sense of the term.²⁵⁵ Pakyngton was expressly appointed as chapter clerk, registrar of the acts, collector of rents of the common and of several chantries and obits within the city, and to the office of clerk of the fabric of the houses and tenements belonging to the chantries and obits.²⁵⁶ As well as receiving payment for services rendered, the chapter clerk was entitled to be entertained to dinner on up to eight separate occasions per year by the residentiary canons.²⁵⁷ This suggests that the holding of offices of a certain status entitled the minor clergy to particular privileges.

Concluding remarks regarding the hierarchy of Lincoln Cathedral

The structure of the clergy hierarchy at Lincoln Cathedral in the later middle ages was complex. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, there was a large clerical population within the close; when the clerical poll tax was levied in 1377 there were nine residentiary canons, ten beneficed clerks, 30 vicars choral, 42 chaplains, eleven poor clerks, four adult choristers and nineteen unbeneficed chaplains and clerks.²⁵⁸ It is reasonable to assume that roughly the same numbers for each type of clergy would have remained in the fifteenth century. In the context of this study it is important to be aware of the nature of the close community at this time. The bishop, who was the head of the cathedral church, was not a continuous presence at the cathedral or in the close; he was more of an infrequent visitor who supervised matters from afar. The dean was the appointed head of the cathedral in the bishop's absence; he was supposed to be continually resident and was the most important of the resident dignitaries. The dean was the officer who worked most closely with the chapter of resident canons to organise the business of the chapter but there were tensions on both sides relating to their jurisdiction over various issues. The small group of resident canons desired to increase their authority over the organisation and administration of the cathedral. When the chapter clashed with Dean Macworth (1412-1452), who had his own ideas about the privileges of a dean, a 40 year dispute had ensued. After Macworth's death in 1451 the dynamic between Dean and Chapter had

²⁵⁵ Major, 'Office', 173.

²⁵⁶ LCL D&C A/2/33, fo. 52r.

²⁵⁷ Major, 'Office', 173.

²⁵⁸ *HS*, 152.

dramatically altered. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with few exceptions, the dignitaries tended to be continually in residence and involved in chapter affairs. There was also a core of residentiary canons that were regularly present at chapter meetings and helped to ensure the smooth running of the cathedral and its business.

The primary purpose of the secular cathedral in the later middle ages continued to be perpetual celebration of divine worship for the greater glory of God and as intercession for the living and dead.²⁵⁹ A large number of offices and roles within the cathedral were developed to facilitate this. A range of minor clergy, significantly younger than the more senior canons, performed many of these tasks. The youngest were the choristers and poor clerks and from these boys were often chosen to become vicars choral and then perhaps chantry chaplains. These formed the largest group of clergy within the cathedral community and the evidence suggests that many of these vicars and chaplains would have been a constant presence in the close for long periods. The minor clergy shared communal lodgings in the close. It had perhaps been hoped by the more senior clergy that the structure of a communal life would instil into the younger clergy the order necessary to maintain the structured services in the cathedral and prevent any misdeeds. However, in the early fifteenth century there are various accounts of the minor clergy being disciplined for a range of offences, including neglecting their offices, which would not have eased their relationships with their superiors. An understanding of the existing roles and relationships of and between members of the cathedral clergy is essential in order to build a better picture of the nature of the cathedral close in the late fifteenth century.

The close and its buildings

The structure of the cathedral close

Although Lepine cites the date for the enclosure of Lincoln Cathedral close as 1256, it is generally accepted and most recently advocated by Alan Vince that the

²⁵⁹ *JC*, 330.

move for enclosure came after the completion of the new east end in 1280.²⁶⁰ The Dean and Chapter petitioned the king to allow them to enclose the cathedral precinct, as according to Hill and Lepine, the clergy complained of being frequently attacked as they moved between their houses and the cathedral church. Subsequently the king gave them licence to enclose the precinct, with a wall of twelve feet high, in suitable places.²⁶¹ Enclosure was not unusual for secular cathedral closes; by the early fourteenth century most English closes had been enclosed with gates and walls.²⁶² It may have been the case that clergy suffered many brutal attacks elsewhere; the murder of the precentor Walter Lechlade in Exeter Cathedral close on his way home from the cathedral matins one night in 1283 led directly to the enclosure of the precinct in 1286.²⁶³ However many studies of later medieval defences indicate that the desire to enclose the cathedral precinct at Lincoln might have been governed more by concerns for status rather than security, as a third royal licence in 1318 granted permission for the wall to be higher than twelve feet and for turrets to be built.²⁶⁴ John Schofield and Geoffrey Stell have described the urban precincts created around cathedrals as being 'the heavenly city within a town', whilst Alan Kissane has emphasised how the extension of the cathedral sanctuary was seen as an indication of the special status afforded such spaces.²⁶⁵ The enclosure of the close with such grandeur, high walls and turrets, set the space apart from the rest of the city of Lincoln as a protected and sacred area under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter.

There is a detailed map drawn of Lincoln Cathedral close by Dave Watt, in *The city by the pool* using the information from *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln*

²⁶⁰ BCSG, 114; Vince, 'The new town', 179.

²⁶¹ CPR 1281-92, 161. There had been episodes of disorder in other cathedral closes, for example Norwich in 1272, see J. Campbell, 'Norwich before 1300' in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London, 2004), 34-35.

²⁶² BCSG, 114.

²⁶³ N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral as it was, 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986), 6-7.

²⁶⁴ See C. Coulson, 'Hierarchism in conventual crenellation: an essay in the sociology and metaphysics of medieval fortification', *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1982), 74-77.

²⁶⁵ J. Schofield and G. Stell, 'The built environment 1300-1540' in D. Palliser, P. Clark and M. Daunton (eds.) *The Cambridge urban history of Britain, volume 1: 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000), 382; A. Kissane, 'Manibus violentis: touch and sanctuary in medieval Lincoln' in U. Krampl, R. Beck and E. Retaillaud-Bajac (eds.), *Les cinq sens de la ville du moyen age à nos jours* (Tours, 2013), 315-327.

volumes 1-4 by Stanley Jones, Kathleen Major and Joan Varley (1984-1996).²⁶⁶ This map is presented in Figure 1. The map shows that by the time the wall was complete in 1327, the close encompassed large areas to the north and east of the cathedral building and had at least ten gates, many with impressive gatehouses and including three with pairs of gatehouses, situated around the perimeter. The inner Exchequergate opposite the west front of the cathedral still survives (Figure 2); however the outer Exchequergate was demolished in the eighteenth century.

²⁶⁶ Vince, 'The New Town', 180.

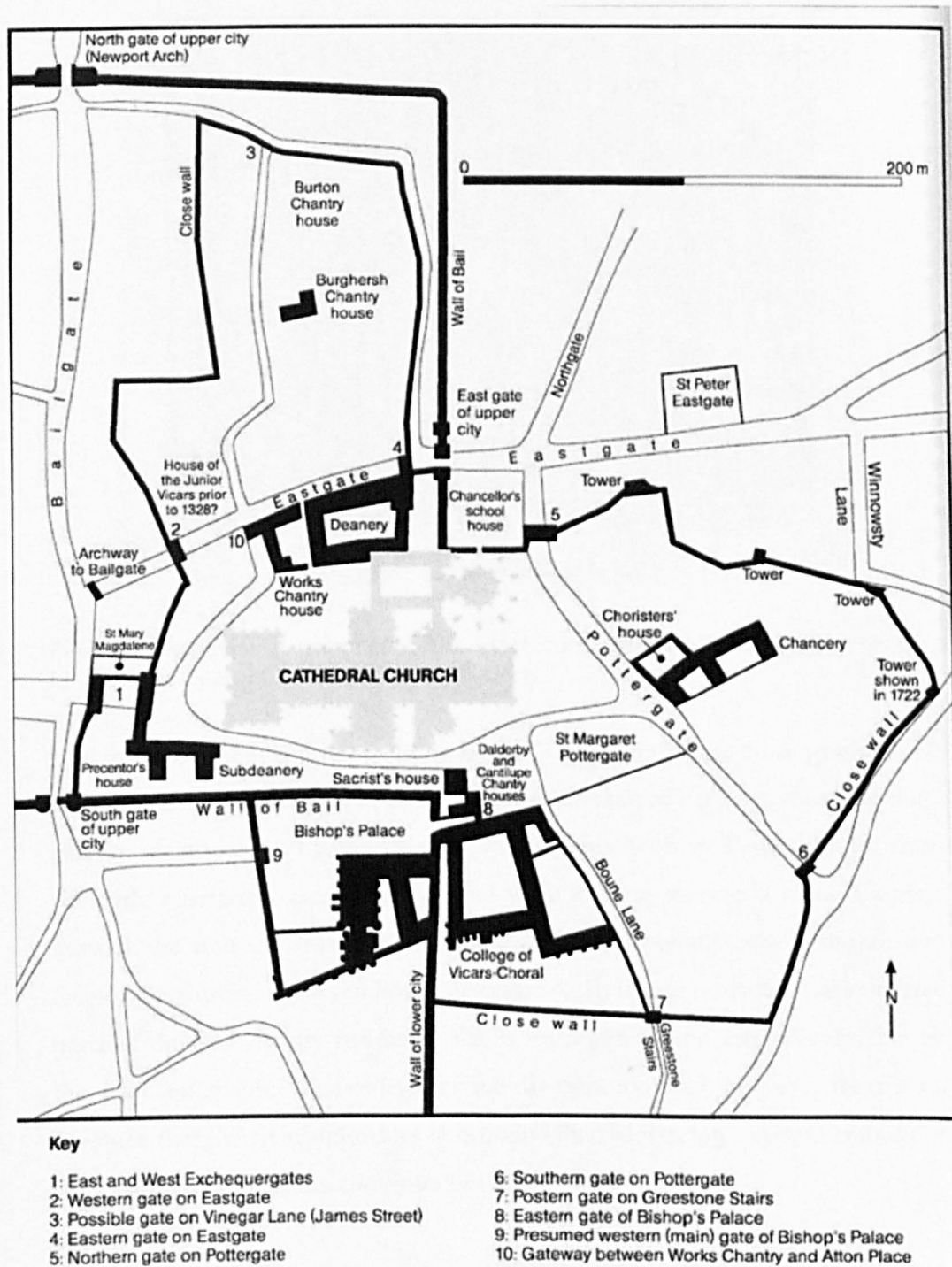


Figure 1: Map of the close, drawn by Dave Watts, English Heritage (Taken from Vince, 'The new town', 180).



Figure 2: Anonymous painting of the inner Exchequergate (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery).

The early twentieth-century painting by A. G. Webster of the close gatehouse at the north end of Pottergate looking south can be seen in Figure 3. Many of these gatehouses no longer exist; a drawing with a sepia wash by Peter de Wint from the early nineteenth century shows the view looking eastwards along Eastgate through the arch across the street at its western end, looking towards the western face of the western close gatehouse in Figure 4. The close boundaries also utilised parts of the existing city and bail walls to form part of the ‘circuit’ even though the dean and chapter did not legally have the right to do so. However there is no evidence that the civic authorities questioned this, suggesting a certain amount of acquiescence towards the enclosure of the close.



Figure 3: Painting of the close gatehouse by A. G. Webster at the north end of Pottergate looking south (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery).

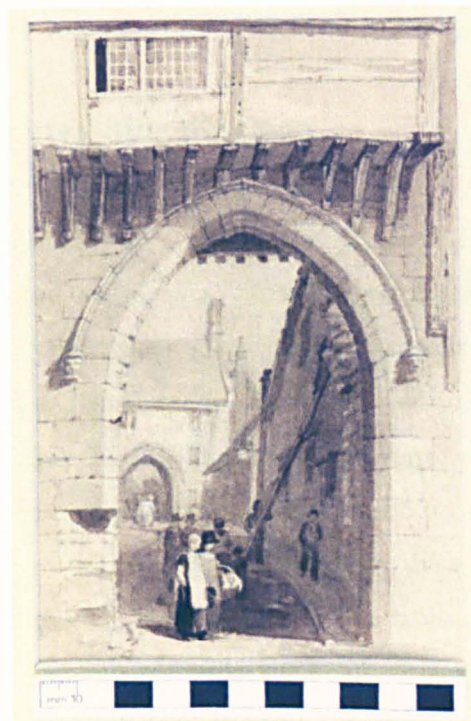


Figure 4: Drawing with a sepia wash by Peter de Wint, looking towards the western face of the western close gatehouse (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery).

Following the labelling system of Figure 1 and starting at the south-west corner of the close, the close wall formed the eastern boundary of the properties fronting onto the northern end of Steep Hill as far as the two Exchequergates. The wall then continued north, including properties on what is now known as Minster Yard within its boundaries, over the road named Eastgate to encompass properties on James Street before following the road boundary back down south to return to the Eastgate. There was a gatehouse where the wall crossed over Eastgate and south-east of the gatehouses, the close wall followed the property boundaries along the rear of properties facing onto Eastgate, on the outside of the Bail, with a gatehouse where the close wall crossed the northern end of Pottergate. The close wall then followed the property boundaries at the rear of Winnowsty Lane before turning south-west to cross the southern end of Pottergate where there was another gatehouse. From this gatehouse, the wall extended due south encompassing properties on what is now known as part of Minster Yard and Pottergate, before turning due west where there was another gatehouse as the wall crossed over Boune Lane. The close boundary then followed the course of the existing wall of the Lower City northwards and the existing south wall of the Bail westwards and then northwards to rejoin the wall at the Exchequergates.

Housing arrangements within the close

Initially residentiary canons of Lincoln Cathedral had to make their own arrangements with regard to housing. Most likely for reasons of convenience, properties were bought by canons from Lincoln citizens and later from other canons or their executors, on roads in the north-east quarter of the upper city surrounding the cathedral. During the thirteenth century the chapter received many gifts or legacies of houses from canons with the proviso that they were for the chapter to rent out to future cathedral clergy. By the early fourteenth century the chapter had adopted an active policy of establishing control over the increasing numbers of houses surrounding the cathedral that they were acquiring for the common fund and allotting them by seniority.²⁶⁷ This was the system whereby a vacant house was first offered to the senior residentiary canon and

²⁶⁷ *SOAH1*, 3.

then if he refused it was offered to the next senior residentiary until a canon accepted it. The enclosure of the close was completed by the erection of walls and eventually the chapter, or a subsidiary corporation, owned all of the properties in the closest proximity to Lincoln Cathedral within the walls. The chapter's acquisition of properties surrounding the cathedral may have been a sign of its increasing control over cathedral affairs and the rights and privileges of the chapter.

The most comprehensive secondary sources for the history of the inhabitants and architectural history of some of the houses that would have been standing in Lincoln Cathedral close in the later medieval period remain *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln* volumes already mentioned.²⁶⁸ This valuable survey traces the extensive history of the oldest houses in uphill Lincoln using archaeological and architectural evidence, the chapter acts and accounts as well as surviving charters, chapter title deeds and rentals. The survey also includes some useful plans outlining the position of the houses around the cathedral; the most detailed plan of the whole cathedral close can be seen in the final volume dealing with the close in Figure 5.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ *SOAH1*; *SOAH2*; *SOAH3*.

²⁶⁹ *SOAH3*, p.2.

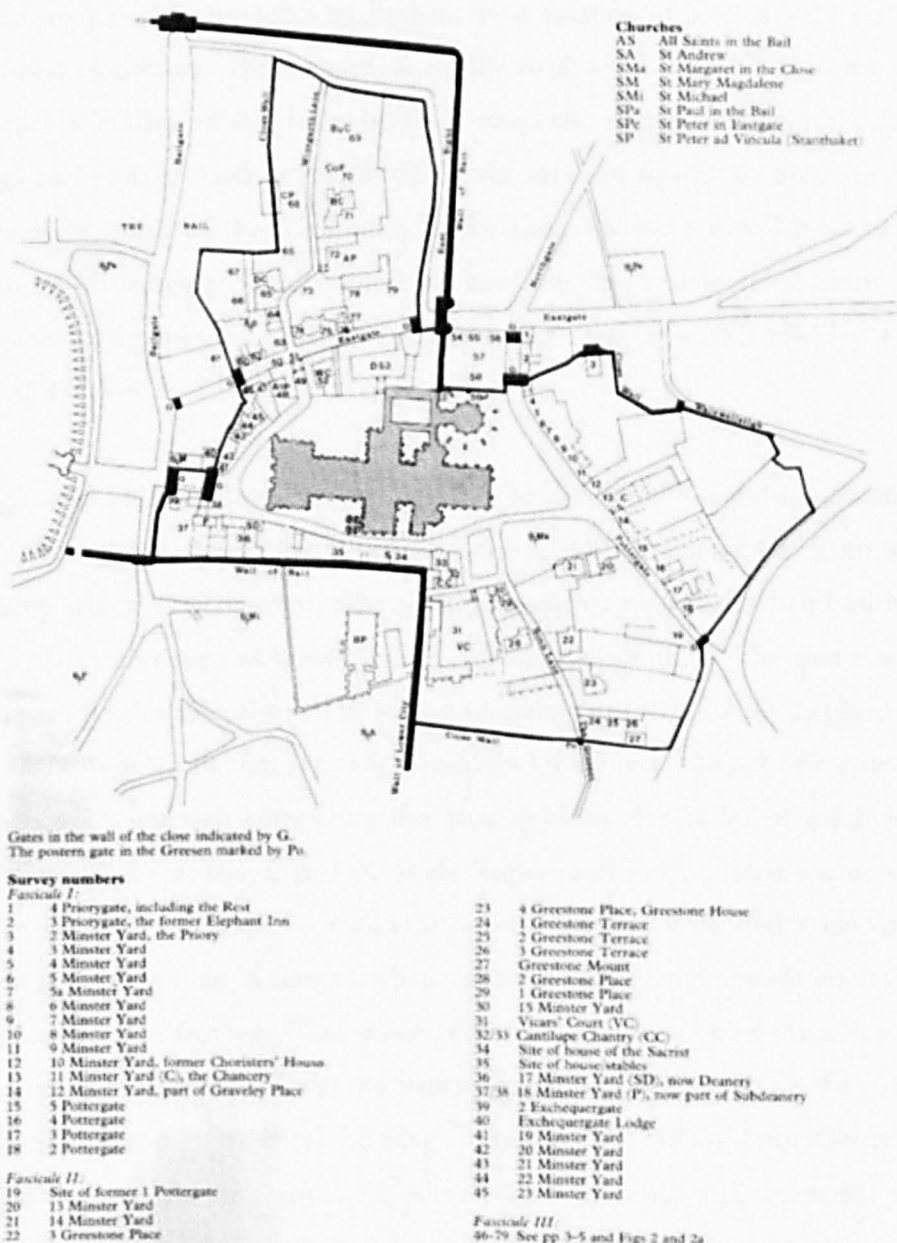


Figure 5: Plan of the houses in the close (Taken from *SOAH3*, 2).

Unfortunately, although the volumes synthesise the remaining evidence to produce as complete a picture as is possible of the development of the close, there are still gaps in the information. This is for a variety of reasons; the documentary sources have not survived for all of the medieval houses or where they have survived there is not a complete chronological run of information so it has been impossible to create a definite list of inhabitants. In addition, the sources are not always clear which house or houses are being referred to; the names of the houses have changed over the years so in some cases the ideas

proffered regarding the probable inhabitants of or location of houses is the result of informed conjecture. This is particularly the case when considering some of the medieval houses which have been demolished, amalgamated with other buildings and plots of land or rebuilt. However, without this methodical survey of the sources, study of the community of the cathedral close would have been much more challenging. As of yet, there has been no systematic attempt to analyse the topography of Lincoln Cathedral close and how this affected the society of the close.

Although very little has been written specifically about the houses of cathedral clergy,²⁷⁰ there has been much archaeological and architectural historical scholarship which has considered the physical space of medieval urban housing in terms of features such as house layout and room function.²⁷¹ The first major synthetic study of medieval town houses, undertaken in the south of England in the 1960s by William Pantin, critically considered the interior layout of medieval town houses.²⁷² Through comparing the ground plans of a series of examples, Pantin concluded that the open hall, as the largest and most central room, was the most important area of the medieval household and he devised a typology recognising that the long, rectangular hall was either orientated at right-angles or parallel to the street frontage.²⁷³ However, Pantin's interpretation of town houses was determined by the theory that the structure of urban houses was, in the main, adapted from models of rural housing.²⁷⁴ In the late 1990s Jane Grenville identified flaws in Pantin's typology, namely that he deliberately excluded the smallest and the largest urban houses from his fieldwork.²⁷⁵ More recently, in her 2007 article, Sarah Pearson examined a variety of urban and rural examples of medieval house types, not just those with an open hall plan. She has argued that

²⁷⁰ An odd example is T. Miles and A. Saunders, 'The chantry priests' house at Farleigh Hungerford castle', *Medieval Archaeology*, 19 (1975), 165-94. There is also information about clergy housing included in secondary material focused on specific ranks of clergy such as R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral*, M. Rousseau, 'Chantry chaplains at St Paul's Cathedral, London ca. 1200-1548', *Medieval Prosopography*, 26 (2005), 197-314.

²⁷¹ The research for this paragraph has been structured in part based on Jayne Rimmer's section in S. Rees Jones, et al, 'The later medieval English urban household', *History Compass*, 5/1 (2007), 121-124.

²⁷² W. Pantin, 'Medieval English town-house plans', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6-7 (1964 for 1962-3), 202-239.

²⁷³ Pantin, 'Town-house plans', 202-209.

²⁷⁴ Pantin, 'Town-house plans', 202.

²⁷⁵ J. Grenville, *Medieval housing* (London, 1997), 165.

Pantin's typology was too simple to cover the varied and diverse arrangements of medieval urban houses and also the fact that town houses developed independently of country houses, and may even have influenced the style of rural housing.²⁷⁶ In the late 1980s and early 1990s John Schofield devised a new typology of urban dwellings which was based on the number of rooms in a house.²⁷⁷ Nonetheless it remains clear that, as indicated by Pearson's research, urban houses remain very difficult to classify because of the diverse nature of their internal layouts.²⁷⁸ From the secondary reading, it appears that there are some general areas which can be commented upon in relation to the standard of housing, namely the physical amount of space a house occupies, the variety of rooms and how far these allow the privacy of the inhabitants and the capacity of a residence for entertaining. In light of this, the following comments about the houses of Lincoln Cathedral close are made tentatively.

Before the acquisition of the properties by the Dean and Chapter and the enclosure of the cathedral close, this area had been the place of residence of the more notable lay citizens of Lincoln.²⁷⁹ This suggests that the type of houses in the cathedral close would have been reasonably grand as they had functioned as town houses for the gentry and lesser aristocracy. The urban gentry would most probably have remained in the Bailgate, Castle hill and Steep hill areas of the city. The standard of housing in the cathedral close compares favourably with the types of houses in the Bailgate and Steep hill areas in terms of the size of the holdings. The exceptions are the large properties in the Castle hill area, near the gateway of the castle, where Aaron le Riche, the most famous Jewish financier of the twelfth century, is reputed to have lived.²⁸⁰ The majority of the houses in this part of uphill Lincoln outside the close have narrow rectangular shaped holdings.²⁸¹ Unfortunately there is little evidence of how the holdings were organised in the later medieval period, as these houses and shops were in private ownership and therefore the earlier records have not been preserved as carefully

²⁷⁶ S. Pearson, 'Rural and urban houses 1100-1500: "urban adaptation" reconsidered' in K. Giles and C. Dyer (eds.), *Town and country in the middle ages: contrasts, contacts and interconnections 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2005), 59.

²⁷⁷ J. Schofield, *Medieval London houses* (2nd edn., London, 2003), 27-60.

²⁷⁸ Pearson, 'Rural', 43-63.

²⁷⁹ *SOAH4*, 3.

²⁸⁰ *SOAH4*, 24.

²⁸¹ See *SOAH4*.

as those held by the Dean and Chapter.²⁸² These holdings may have had more storeys than those in the cathedral close but nevertheless the rooms within these holdings would have been necessarily smaller than those in the close. It is difficult to make direct comparisons between the houses of leading Lincoln citizens and the inhabitants of the close, as a result of the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the subsequent difficulties identifying these houses in the later medieval period and linking them to particular citizens.²⁸³ However in general terms some of the houses in the cathedral close were in the main detached, spread-out forms of houses, of the standard that in lay terms was increasingly reserved to magnates.²⁸⁴ It could legitimately be said that the Dean and Chapter were styling their standards of housing on the lay elites.

Analysis of housing assigned to cathedral hierarchy

The dignitaries were the only residentiary canons who held particular houses in the close which had been endowed by their forebears for their successors in the same office by the fifteenth century. Not all dignitaries were fortunate enough to have houses set aside for their office, noticeably the treasurers had to vie with the other residentiary canons to inhabit suitable canonical dwellings in the close however there was a house that had been endowed for his deputy, the sacrist. This might have been a reflection on the importance of the position of the sacrist. The treasurer might have delegated such a significant amount of responsibility to the sacrist that he had become integral to the running of the cathedral. In turn, this might have made it necessary to endow a house for the sacrist in close proximity to the Galilee porch, near the treasury. Looking at Figure 5, it is apparent that the medieval deanery (Survey number 53) was situated north of the cathedral, north-west from the cathedral cloisters. This was almost opposite the subdeanery (Survey number 36), which was located in the south west corner of the close, next to the precentory (Survey numbers 37 and 38). The chancery (Survey number 13) was again almost opposite the subdeanery and precentory in the other direction, positioned due east of the cathedral. The

²⁸² *SOAH4*, 1.

²⁸³ Kissane has looked at the redevelopment of housing in areas inhabited by Lincoln's civic officials in the fourteenth century, see A. Kissane, *Lay urban identities in late medieval Lincoln 1288-1400* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2013), 65.

²⁸⁴ A. Quiney, *Town houses of medieval Britain* (London, 2003), 186.

houses for the dignitaries were randomly scattered around the close; most likely a result of the fact that in the preceding centuries individuals had endowed their own houses to their successors in that office, the designation of houses to certain dignitaries had not been pre-planned.

As the dean was the nominal head of the cathedral, one would expect that he would have had a residence befitting his status. The dean's residence had been established since 1184 and had accumulated additional buildings and land so that by the fifteenth century the deanery consisted of a number of buildings, which enclosed a large quadrangular courtyard (Survey number 53).²⁸⁵ The courtyard arrangement allowed the dean further privacy as it was a semi-private space where the circulation could be controlled.²⁸⁶ An undated outline ground plan of the deanery drawn in the nineteenth century can be seen in Figure 6.²⁸⁷

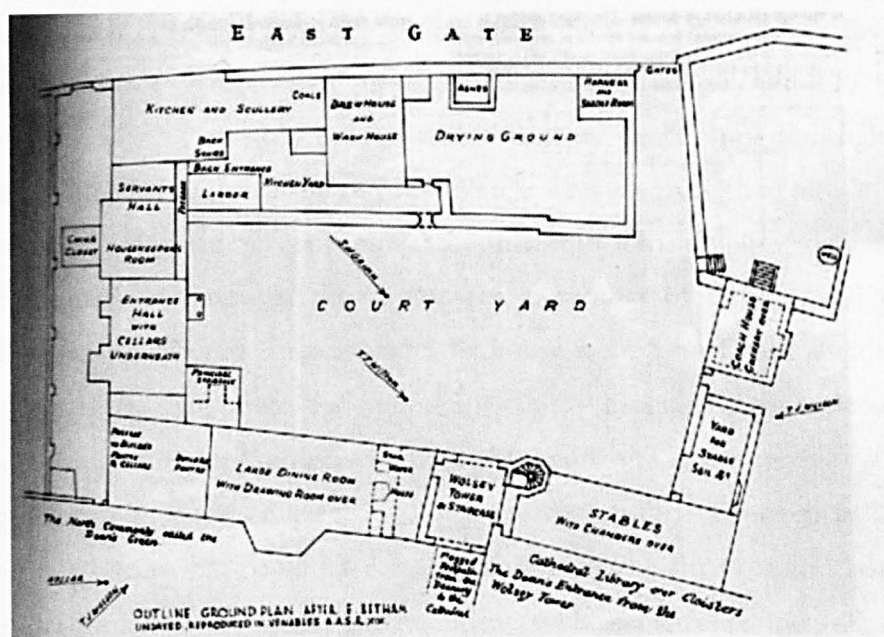


Figure 6: An undated ground plan of the deanery, drawn in the nineteenth century (Taken from *SOAH3*, 21).

It appears to have been a sizeable residence with a large dining room and a reasonable sized hall which would have provided sufficient space for entertaining. Medieval halls had specific functions; the size, architecture and fittings of a hall

²⁸⁵ *SOAH3*, 19-20.

²⁸⁶ J. Steane, *The archaeology of power, England and northern Europe AD 800-1600* (Stroud, 2001), 79; Quiney, *Townhouses*, 189.

²⁸⁷ *SOAH3*, 21.

were important to reflect the strength and unity of the master's household.²⁸⁸ This was usually the largest room in the house, as it was the setting for canonical hospitality.²⁸⁹ The description of the deanery for the Parliamentary survey of 1649 suggests that the residence had the capacity for entertaining, as there was a pantry and buttery adjoining a large kitchen, an entrance hall with a cellar underneath for storage, as well as a brewhouse. This series of rooms was imperative for storing, preparing and cooking the food and drink necessary to fulfil hospitality obligations successfully. These larger houses, with more than one floor and buildings arranged around a courtyard could have been equated with the types of houses inhabited by the rich and powerful laity in late medieval English towns and cities.²⁹⁰

The subdeanery was not quite as spread out or open as the deanery but the evidence suggests that it had the capacity for entertaining in its spacious central hall, which covered approximately 50 square metres. The subdean lived on the south side of Minster Yard from the mid twelfth century until 1978 (Survey number 36).²⁹¹ There are plans of the subdeanery drawn using information from archaeological evidence and the 1649 Parliamentary survey in Figure 7.²⁹² Further valuable information concerning the fifteenth century arrangement of the subdeanery is found in the bequest of a number of fixtures and pieces of furniture made to his successors in the house from John Picard (subdean 1389-1405). In the hall, there was a table for cups, a long and large table at the east end, and a sideboard or dresser with bowls and lavers in the centre.²⁹³ There also appears to have been more provision for privacy in the subdeanery as there were various rooms that could have been appropriated by the host and his favoured guests for conversation and entertainment, such as a small parlour, parlour and a great chamber. This house was clearly also of a high standard of housing.

²⁸⁸ M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth, 1980), 34; Steane, *Archaeology of power*, 96-97.

²⁸⁹ Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Salisbury*, 15.

²⁹⁰ Schofield and Stell, 'The built environment', 61.

²⁹¹ *SOAH2*, 77.

²⁹² *SOAH2*, 78-79.

²⁹³ LCL D&C A/2/29, fo. 20r.

In contrast, the house set aside for the precentor was a much smaller property without such extensive provision for hospitality as the deanery. The precentory was established at 18 Minster Yard from c.1270 until 1960 (Survey numbers 37-38).²⁹⁴ A modern plan of the precentory can be seen in Figure 8.²⁹⁵ It is difficult to comment on the medieval arrangement of the precentory because the extensive alterations carried out to the building in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have erased the evidence of an earlier rebuilding of structures remaining after the Civil War.²⁹⁶ However it was not such a grand building as the deanery, subdeanery or chancery.

²⁹⁴ *SOAH2*, 84.

²⁹⁵ *SOAH2*, 85.

²⁹⁶ *SOAH2*, 86.

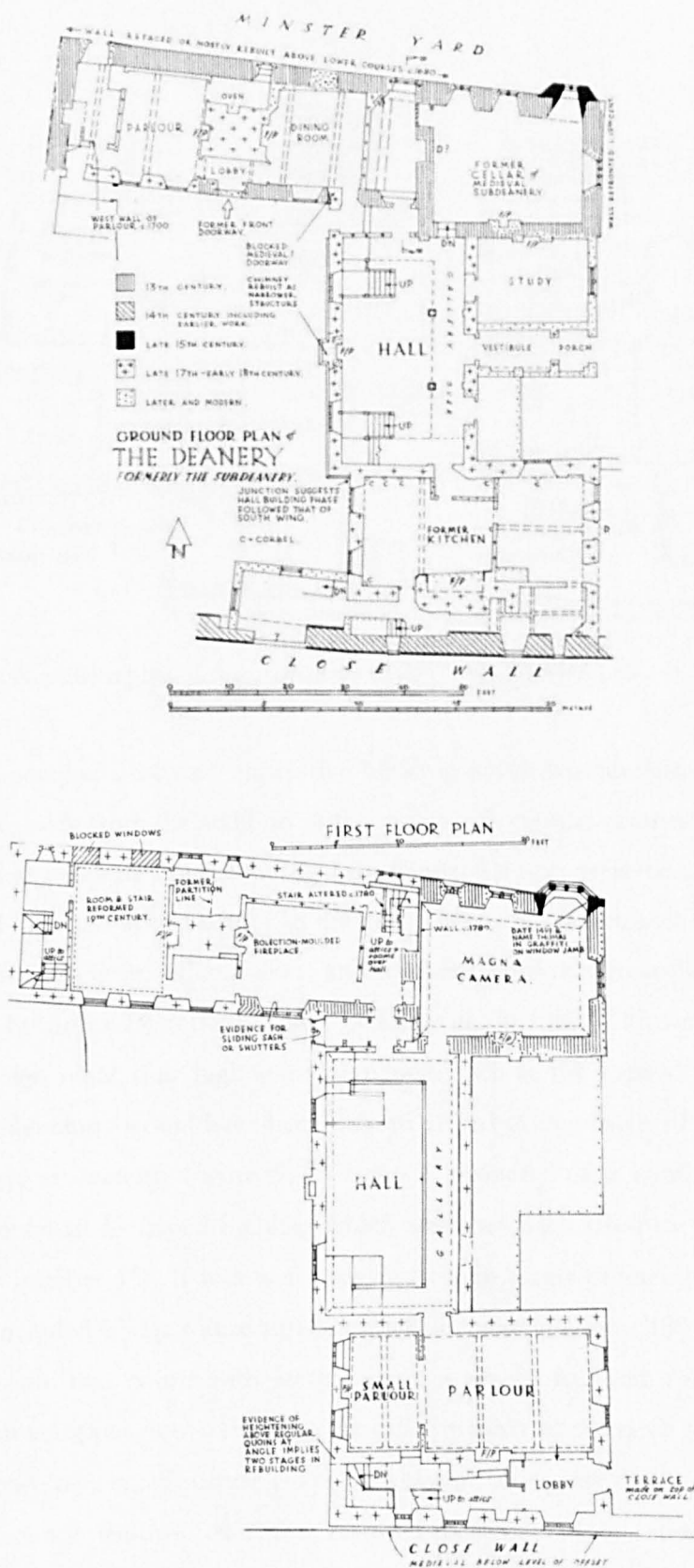


Figure 7: Ground floor and first floor plans of the subdeanery (Taken from *SOAH2*, 78-79).

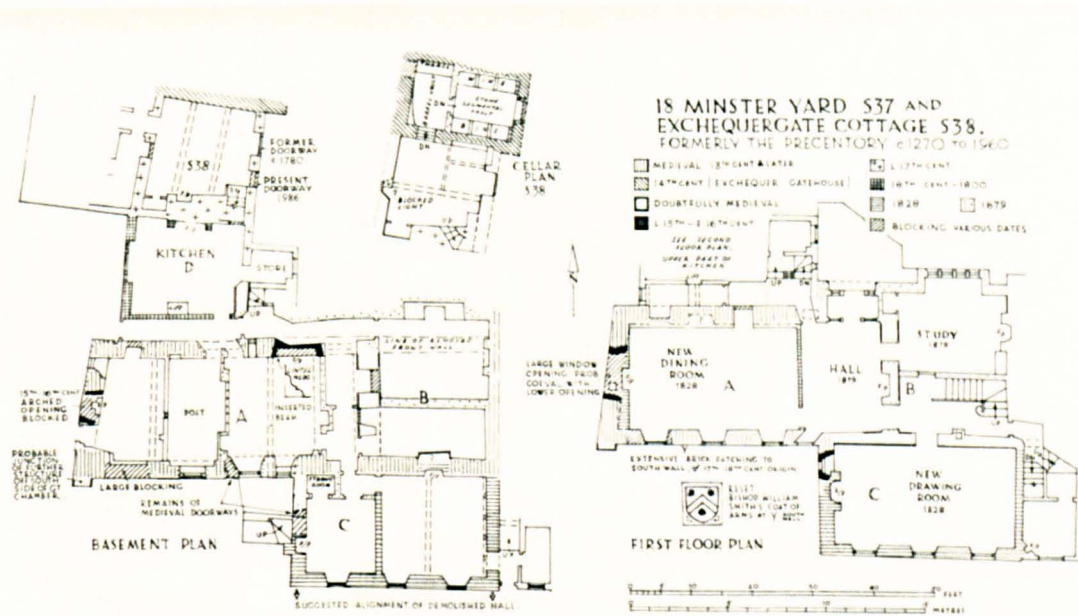


Figure 8: A modern plan of the precentory (Taken from *SO.4H2*, 85).

The chancery is clearly an impressive building which has preserved its medieval frontage, aside from the addition of the nineteenth century dormer gables.²⁹⁷ This was a large property but the fact that the chancellor only received a small revenue resulted in a period of vacancy in the office in the late fourteenth century, when the house was let to other canons and the laity, until the chancellor was able to reclaim his house from the Duchess of Lancaster in 1387.²⁹⁸ However, as a result of the high rents, only high status laypeople such as the Lady of Whithornwyk and the Duchess would have been able to afford to live there. The plan of the chancery, as seen in Figure 9,²⁹⁹ shows a property of a similar size to the subdeanery, an L-shaped building which stretches back from its street frontage (Survey number 13). It was well provided for in terms of the range of rooms, which included a large fourteenth century hall covering almost 100 square metres, divided into two courts with service areas, a service hall and a solar (a private room on an upper floor). It is also the only property in the close for which there is evidence of a small private chapel of roughly 36 square metres, which retains few medieval features except a restored piscina and an aumbry from the fourteenth century in the south wall. Chapels were commonly found in the

²⁹⁷ *SO.4H1*, 51.

²⁹⁸ *SO.4H1*, 52.

²⁹⁹ *SO.4H1*, 54.

townhouses of high ranking clergy and laity and reflect how powerful members of society regulated their lives by following the ritual of the Church.³⁰⁰

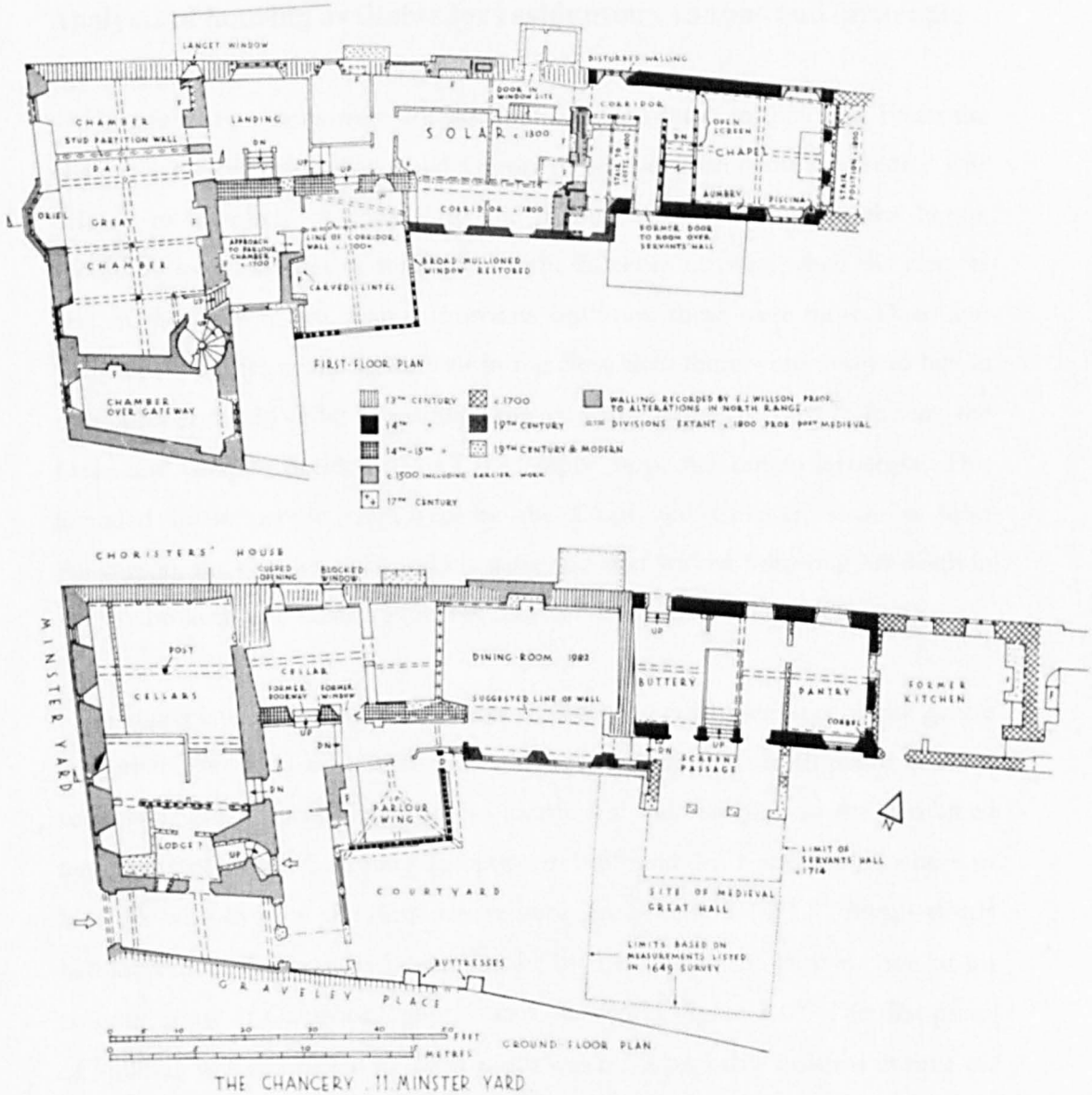


Figure 9: Ground and first floor plan of the chancery (Taken from *SOAH1*, 54).

In Salisbury Cathedral close, each canonry had a chapel and in 1324 at least one vicar's house.³⁰¹ This house clearly had the capacity for providing public hospitality whilst making allowances for private devotional space. The size and function of the houses of the dignitaries was more spacious and luxurious than

³⁰⁰ Steane, *Archaeology of power*, 123.
³⁰¹ Royal Commission, *Salisbury*, 15.

the evidence shows for houses of lower ranking clergy, and this does suggest that they would have been considered on a par with the higher echelons of lay society.

Analysis of housing available for residentiary canons and laypeople

The residentiary canons were not assigned specific houses in the close. From the chapter acts, it appears that when a property in the close became vacant it was offered to members of chapter to see if they would like to rent the house, according to their order of seniority. By the fifteenth century, when the chapter was smaller than it had been in previous centuries, there were more Dean and Chapter properties available for rent in the close than there were clergy to live in these properties. In order to maintain the level of income received from rent, the Dean and Chapter decided to rent the empty properties out to laypeople. This included those people employed by the Dean and Chapter, such as John Pakyngton, the chapter clerk and his wife, and later widow following his death in 1479, who lived in 8 Eastgate (Survey number 74) from 1450 to 1488.³⁰²

High status laypeople also moved into the close, several members of the gentry and aristocracy held houses in the cathedral close in the late fifteenth century, such as Thomas Burgh (knight) who jointly and then singly held the combined tenements of 4 and 5 Pottergate between 1465 and 1471 and the Duchess of Norfolk who lived in the same house between 1471 and 1473.³⁰³ Burgh clearly had aspirations for grander housing as in 1462 he began the construction of his country house at Gainsborough; this can be seen in Figure 10.³⁰⁴ The first phase of building was completed by 1470 and it was most probably finished in time for Richard III's visit in 1483, see a painting of the exterior of the hall in Figure 11. Gainsborough Old Hall was an impressive building with a large Great Hall, a west wing which contained four bays of lodgings, each with a projecting fireplace and privy, an east wing which contained the state apartments, the north-west corner block contained a large kitchen and in the north-east stood an imposing octagonal tower.³⁰⁵ This indicates that some of the houses in the cathedral close

³⁰² *SOAH3*, 129-130.

³⁰³ *SOAH1*, 79.

³⁰⁴ Quiney, *Townhouses*, 201

³⁰⁵ Quiney, *Townhouses*, 196.

must have been of an exceptionally high standard if prominent laypeople such as Burgh were prepared to live there.

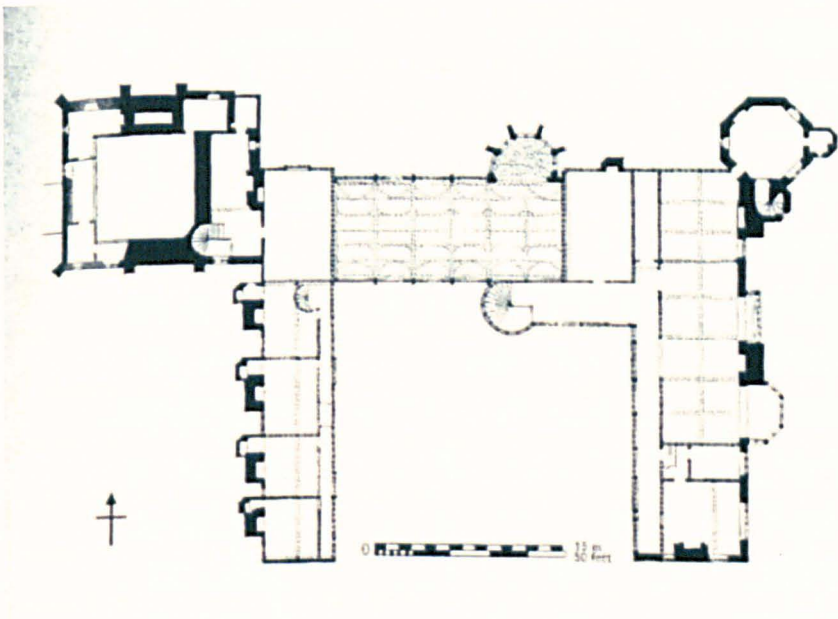


Figure 10: Plan of Gainsborough Old Hall (Taken from Quincy, *Townhouses*, 201).



Figure 11: Nineteenth century painting of the exterior of Gainsborough Old Hall by Rev. C. Terrot (photo and copyright, Lincolnshire County Council, Usher Art Gallery).

The evidence for the houses of the residentiary canons is better for some houses than others; the physical remains, archaeological investigations and documentary evidence have proved more fruitful for certain houses, which has allowed detailed plans to be drawn. With this in mind, it is difficult to make specific judgements about the full range of houses available to the residentiary canons and laypeople although it is possible to comment in general terms. After examining the evidence from *The survey of ancient houses* volumes for movement of clergy and laity between properties in the late fifteenth century, it is clear that there was not a rigid hierarchy of properties at this stage where the properties were in a set order of desirability but certainly some houses were considered more desirable than others. Although there was some movement of canons and laypeople between properties in the close, the reason for the move is not always explicitly stated and might not always have been to improve the quality of their residence. It is possible to comment on the desirability of houses in the close in the second half of the fifteenth century by examining the house plans, where available, and looking at the people who lived in the houses and how long they remained there.

The aforementioned combined tenements of 4 and 5 Pottergate was one of the more coveted properties; this is clear from the plans, see Figure 12.³⁰⁶ From roughly 1400 these properties appear as a single tenancy and when the house was granted to Thomas Alford (prebendary of Crackpole St Mary 1466-1471) on 9 August 1465, it is described as the 'large' house within the close (Survey numbers 15 -16).³⁰⁷ The house had a double range, of approximately 120 metres squared. It was situated slightly further away from the central area of the close in the south-east corner which obviously made it attractive to a range of higher status laypeople and important canons such as John Breton (prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465) who also served as the commissary of Bishop Alnwick and lived in the property from 1454 to 1465 and William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) who inhabited the property for almost the entirety of his office 1479-1501.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ *SOAH1*, 81-82.

³⁰⁷ *FL1*, 47; LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 14v.

³⁰⁸ *SOAH1*, 79.

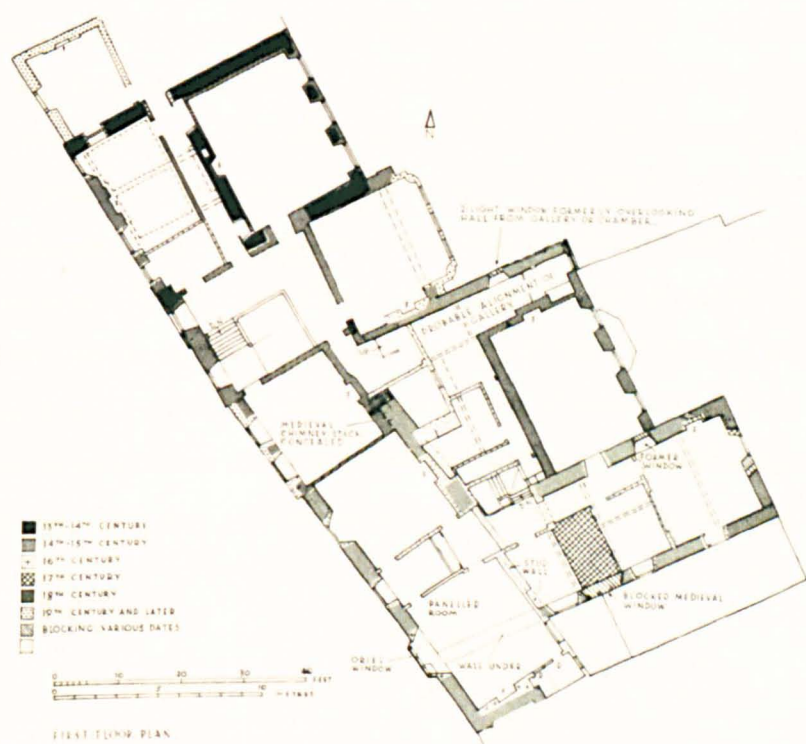
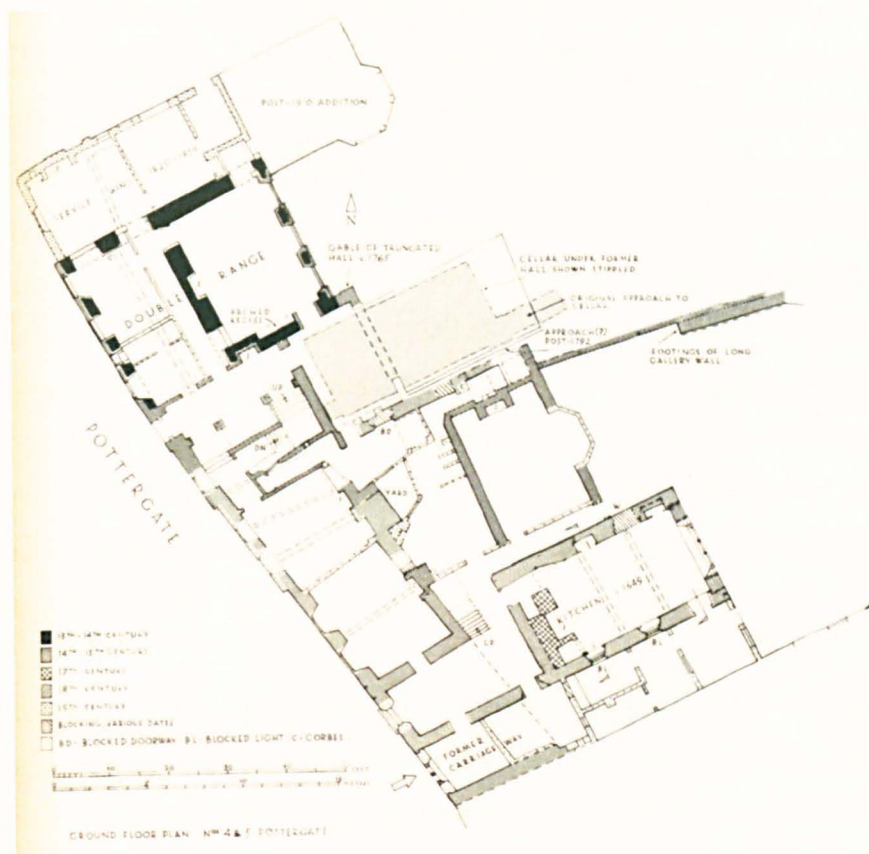


Figure 12: Ground floor and first floor plans of the combined tenements of 4 and 5 Pottergate (Taken from *SOAHI*, 81-82).

Atherstone Place, a tenement which comprised 12-13 Minster Yard and 18 James Street has been described as 'one of the largest and most desirable' of the canonical houses (Survey numbers 72, 78 and 79).³⁰⁹ There were two L-shaped buildings, as can be seen from the plan (Figure 13),³¹⁰ which were divided into lodgings but also rooms for entertaining, with a courtyard in the middle and a large open hall. This house had just three different occupiers in the late fifteenth century, a layman Laurence Marshall and two canons Thomas Alford (prebendary of Carlton Paynell from 1471) and John Walles (prebendary of Kilsby from 1485), who remained in the house for over ten years each.³¹¹ The larger and grander properties were clearly attractive to the higher echelons of clerical and lay society as these houses would have represented a certain level of status in the close.

Other houses were less popular and left empty, for example No. 12 Minster Yard (Survey number 14), which was empty for long periods in the late fifteenth century. It would not have been popular with the more prominent canons and laity as it is evident from the plan (Figure 14) that this was a small and simple property with few rooms.³¹² Another house that was not occupied by any high ranking clergy in the fifteenth century was 3 Greestone Place (Survey number 22). As is apparent on the plan, Figure 15,³¹³ this was another very small property, with a parlour of approximately 24 metres, which would not have been suitable for entertaining on a grand scale; it was basic accommodation compared to some of the other close houses. The inhabitants in the late fifteenth century included Robert Crozier, the lay sacrist and his wife, William Bolton, a weaver and John Drawsword, a kerver.³¹⁴ However these types of houses were more suited to the needs of lay servants of the cathedral and tradesmen and, although they were less desirable, there was certainly need for provision of this accommodation within the close.

³⁰⁹ *SOAH3*, 105.

³¹⁰ *SOAH3*, 108.

³¹¹ *SOAH3*, 107.

³¹² *SOAH1*, 72.

³¹³ *SOAH2*, 22.

³¹⁴ *SOAH2*, 21.

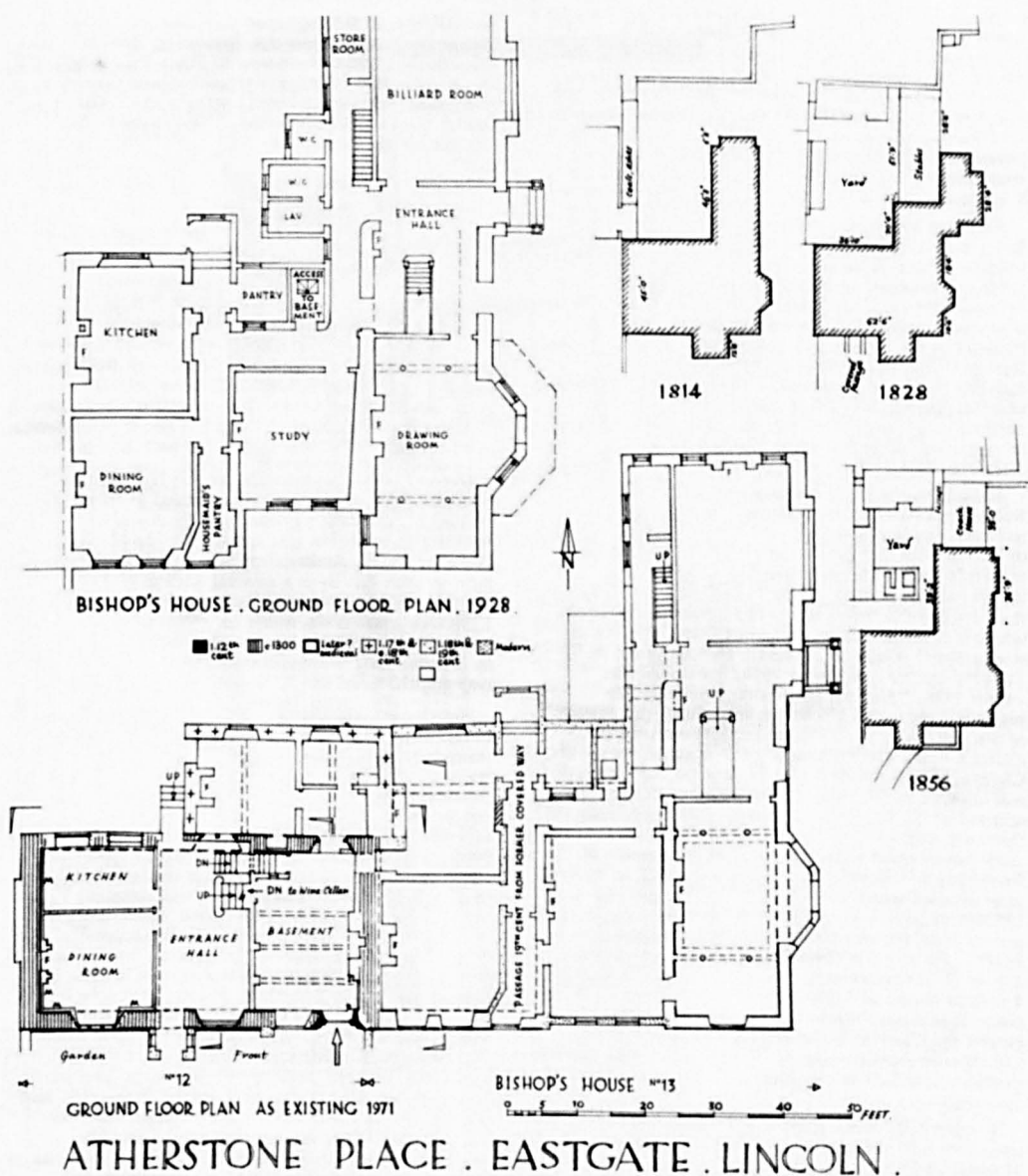


Figure 13: Ground and first floor plans of Atherstone place (Taken from *SOAH3*, 108).

It is also important to consider that members of the chapter and residentiary canons would have had a lifestyle comparable to wealthy laymen and as such would have had not only a house to reflect their status but also a household. Unfortunately there is a distinct lack of records, such as household accounts, which illustrate the domestic arrangements of houses in Lincoln Cathedral close.

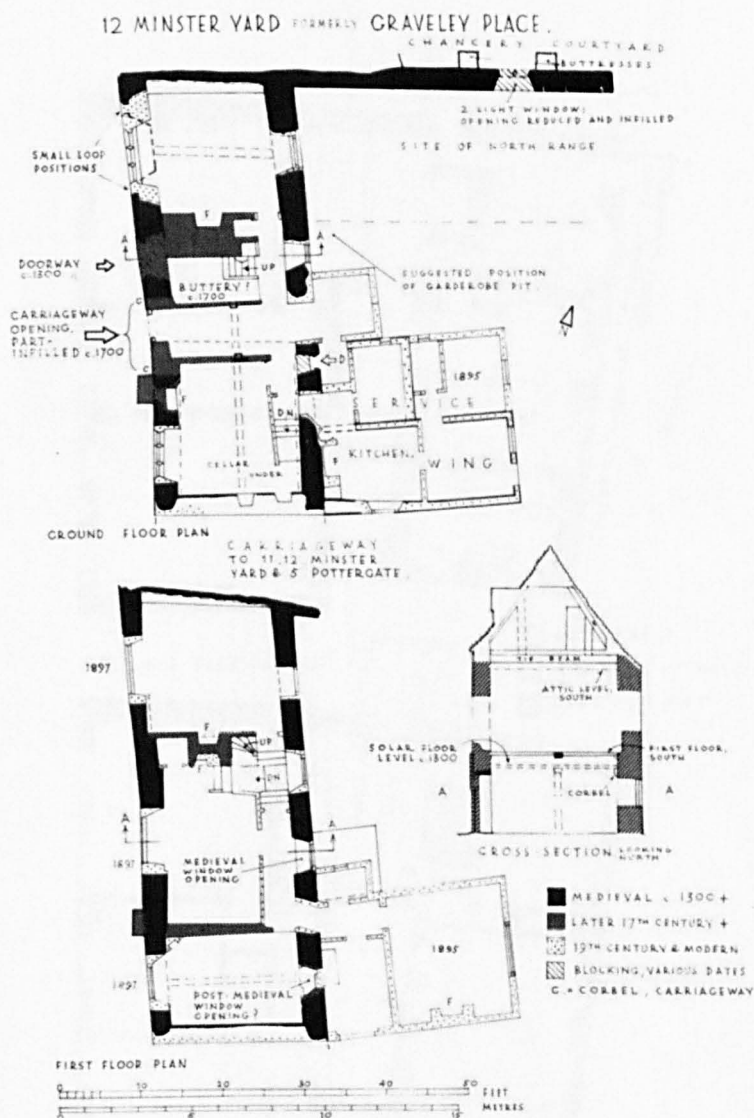


Figure 14: Ground floor and first floor plans of Graveley place (Taken from *SOAH1*, 72).

Nevertheless, it is possible to look at other cathedral closes for comparison, for example at St Paul's Cathedral in the fifteenth century there were between 25 and 30 members of the dean's household.³¹⁵ However in the later middle ages the deanery of St Paul's was one of the most important non-episcopal benefices in England so his household would have been exceptionally wealthy; at Lincoln the number of servants in the deanery would probably have been fewer.

³¹⁵ Kleineke and Hovland, 'The household', 167.

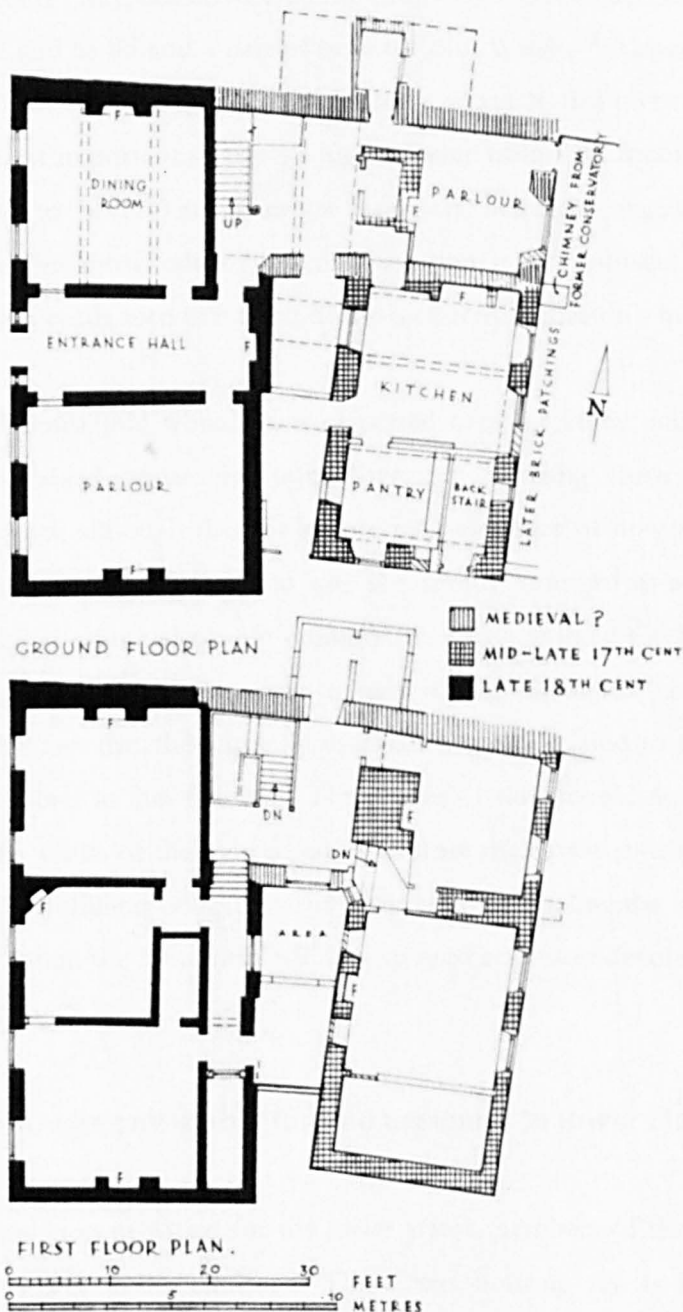


Figure 15: Ground floor and first floor plans of 3 Greestone place (Taken from *SOAH2*, 22).

It is possible to gain an estimation of the number of servants in a household by looking at testamentary evidence. Some testators made bequests to their servants and although many left money to be distributed amongst a non-specific number of servants, a few were more precise. John Breton (prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465) detailed bequests to his servants as follows: 10 marks to Richard Patryk, 10 marks to John Merlyng, 100s to Henry Kay, 100s to Roger

West, 40s to John Colly, 26s 8d to Goderic Bulter, 20s to Richard Umfray, 13s 4d to John Merle and 6s 8d and a pair of beds to John Walsh.³¹⁶ Although this may not have been the total complement of Breton's servants, this gives a rough idea of the number of important servants a higher status canon at Lincoln could have been expected to have. The generous monetary bequests suggest that these servants were the most valued and the variation in the proscribed amounts perhaps allows a crude reconstruction of the hierarchy of Breton's household.

The medieval household would have consisted of a hierarchy, including many grades encompassed under the term "servant", ranging from stewards to domestic servants, although there is less definite evidence of how this hierarchy was organised.³¹⁷ Yet the household was not simply arranged as a hierarchy, it also functioned as a mutual benefit community, which worked for the advantage of everyone in it.³¹⁸ The close-knit nature of the medieval household was reflected in the fact that the whole household, whether related to the master or not, was described as his family.³¹⁹ This "family" unit would have striven to ensure that the status of the master, and therefore their own status, was upheld, for example by fulfilling obligations of hospitality to a particular standard. The relationships within the household will be explored in greater detail in the kinship section to follow.³²⁰

Analysis of housing available for and assigned to lower clergy

The accommodation provided for the lower status members of the clergy in the close also deserves to be explored. There was housing set aside for certain chantry chaplains serving some of the chantry foundations in the cathedral, endowed by the founder of the chantry or the Dean and Chapter. These houses were much smaller, with smaller rooms and the space clearly had a different function from the houses of the dignitaries. The focus was more on providing accommodation for daily living and not lavish spaces for entertaining. In these houses the arrangement of rooms suggests that there was also less of an emphasis

³¹⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 97r.

³¹⁷ Kleineke and Hovland, 'The household', 167.

³¹⁸ Girouard, *English country house*, 16.

³¹⁹ Girouard, *English country house*, 16.

³²⁰ See Chapter 3, 193, 213.

on privacy for the chaplains, as usually the houses would have been shared by at least two, communal living on a smaller scale than the junior clergy. This can be seen from the plan of the Cantilupe chantry house (Survey numbers 32-33, Figure 16),³²¹ which features a more basic plan than those for houses of dignitaries or canons.

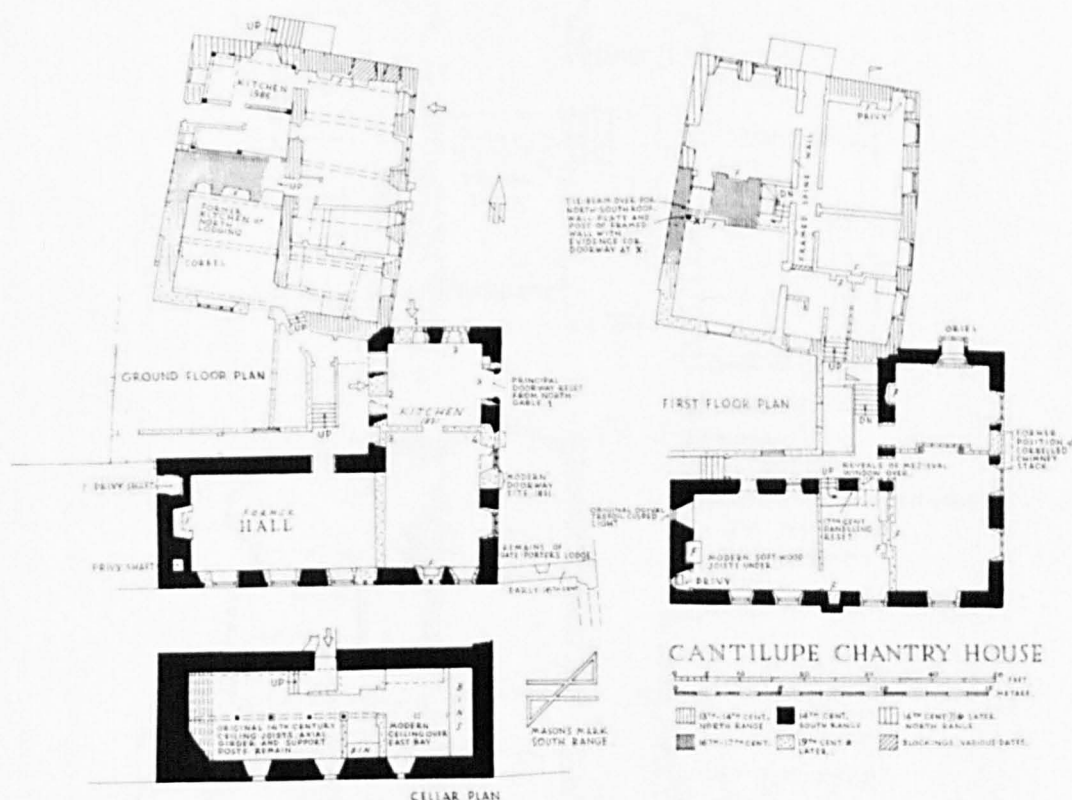


Figure 16: Ground floor and first floor plans of Cantilupe chantry house (Taken from *SOAH2*, 66).

This is not to say that these houses were not styled on the larger houses of the dignitaries but to a smaller scale, still containing rooms such as halls and solars, as is evidenced by the plan of the Burghersh chantry house (Survey number 71), Figure 17.³²² The Works chantry house would probably have been the grandest building, being the former chancellors' house, as can be seen in Figure 18 (Survey number 52).³²³

³²¹ *SOAH2*, 66.

³²² *SOAH3*, 96-97.

³²³ *SOAH3*, 13.

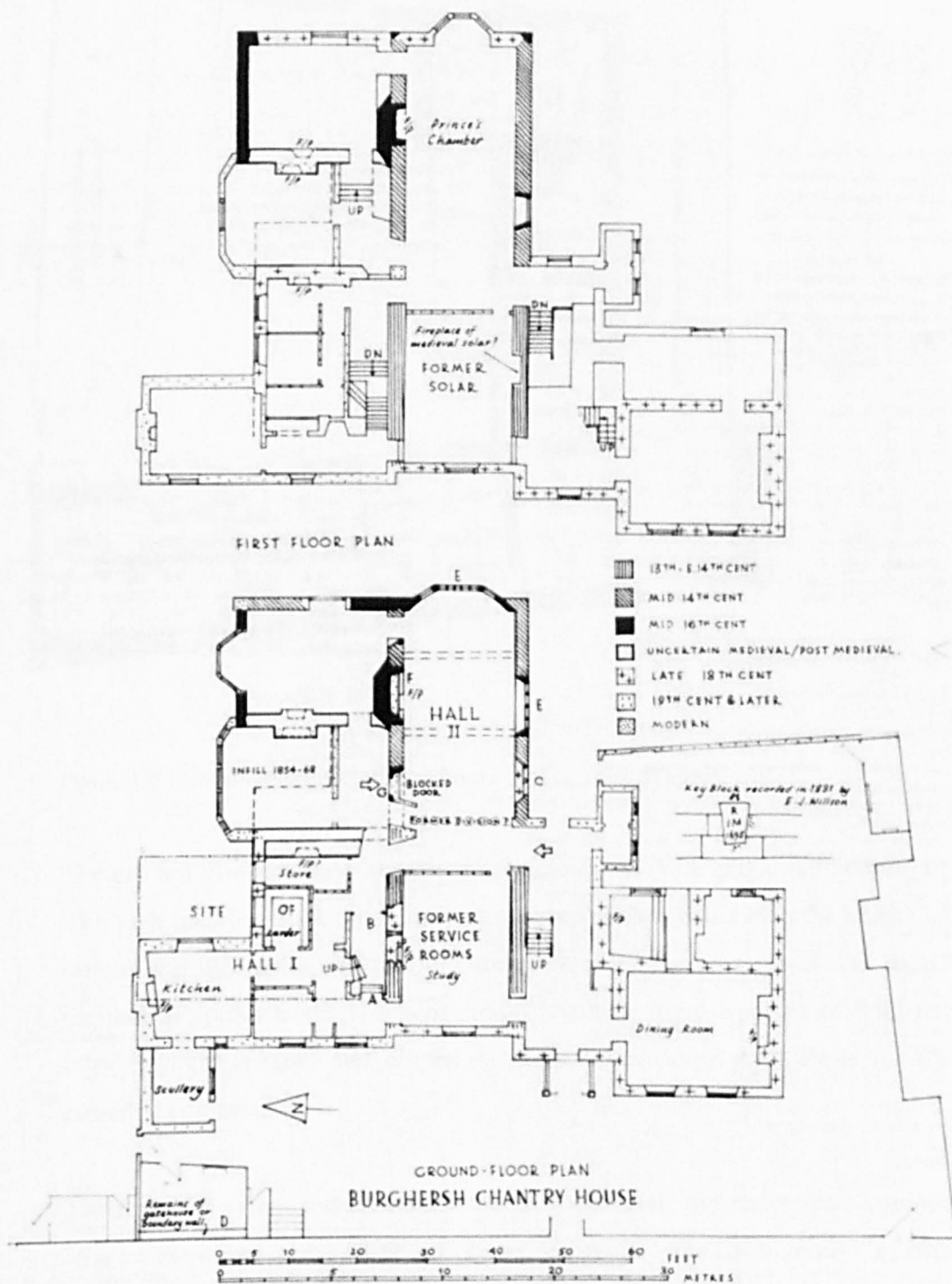


Figure 17, Ground floor and first floor plans of the Burghersh chantry house (Taken from SOAH3, 96-97).

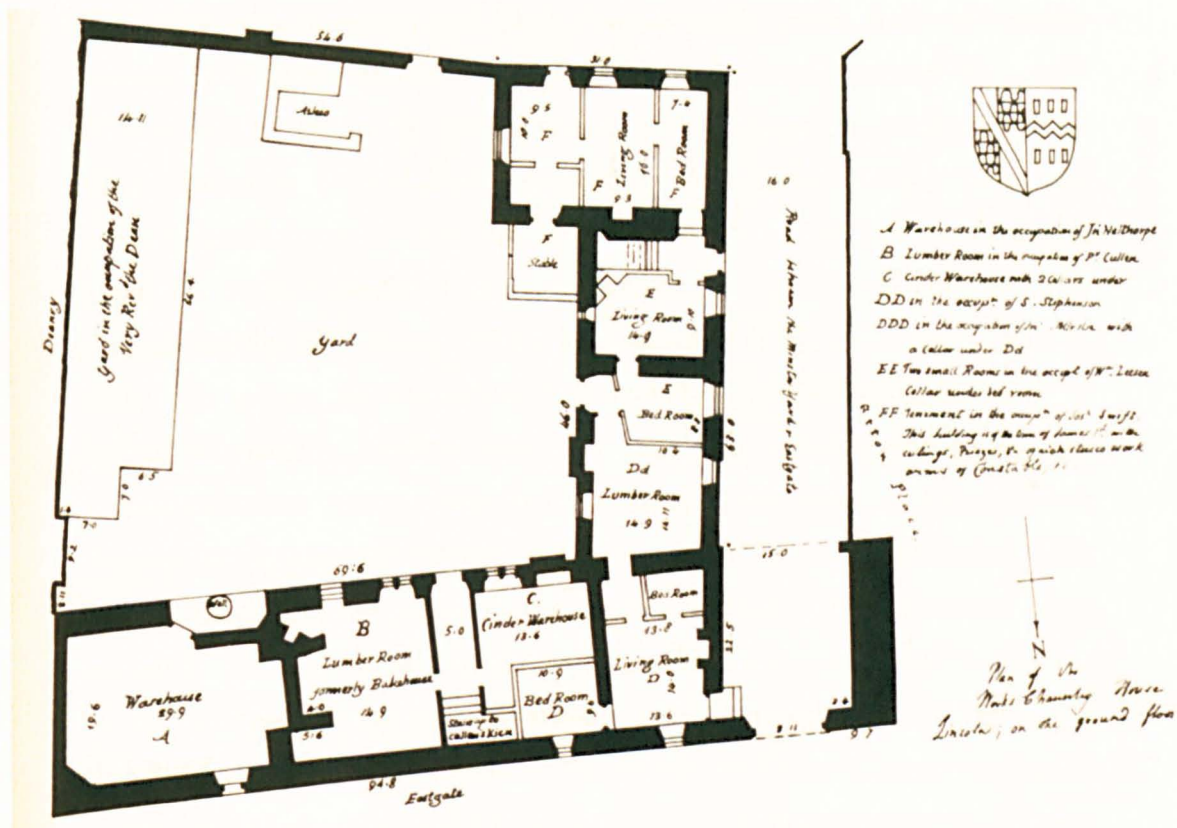


Figure 18: Plan of the Works' chantry house (Taken from *SOAH3*, 13).

The ground plan is L-shaped around a spacious yard with single cell bedrooms. Although the houses for the chantry chaplains were less grand than the houses of canons and dignitaries, the size and arrangement of the houses was well suited for their purpose, as the chaplains would not have been expected to fulfil the roles of the dignitaries and canons in terms of providing great feasts for the cathedral community.

Although the vicars choral were lower in status than the residentiary canons, Stocker describes the college of vicars choral as ‘the powerhouse of the cathedral’.³²⁴ This is presumably because the vicars choral were ultimately responsible for managing the services that formed the primary function of the cathedral. In contrast to the canons, who had their own canonical dwellings in the close, among the lesser clergy such as the vicars there was a partial revival of the common life. *SOAH2* provides a great deal of architectural and

³²⁴ Stocker, 'The development', 76.

archaeological information and plans for the vicars' court buildings (Survey number 31).³²⁵ However, the latest hypotheses on the development of the college of vicars choral at Lincoln can be found in David Stocker's chapter in *Vicars Choral*, edited by Richard Hall and Stocker, which includes some useful and newer plans.³²⁶ Between 1266 and 1272 land south east of Lincoln Cathedral within the newly expanded close was granted to the vicars on the condition that they should 'lawfully dispose of the land for their residence as seems best to them'.³²⁷ It appears that the bishop, dean and chapter intended for the vicars to live in a collegiate building from this early date, although credit for the foundation of the vicars' college has traditionally been given to Bishop Sutton (Bishop of Lincoln 1288-1299).³²⁸ It has previously been asserted that in 1293 Bishop Sutton had recognised the moral dangers arising from the vicars living separately and decreed that they should be provided with a residence: 'seeing that for the most part solitude is the occasion of all evils amongst them'.³²⁹ The reason that Bishop Sutton has been acclaimed as founder of Vicars' Court is that he left a generous bequest in his will for the purpose of erecting buildings on the plot. The bishop's executors carried out the building of a hall, kitchen and some rooms for them to live in as common halls of residence and the work was eventually finished a century later by Bishop Buckingham.³³⁰ Placing the vicars in communal lodgings would have helped to facilitate a sense of community amongst the vicars and set them apart as separate from other members of the clergy.

In the late thirteenth century, the archaeological evidence suggests that the senior vicars lived together, in quasi-monastic conditions, in a communal dormitory sited on the north range of the plot.³³¹ Throughout the fourteenth century, the senior vicars then moved into individual chambers in the south, east and west range of the buildings. In 1328 a new building was constructed in the courtyard for the junior vicars, a single house, in the north-west corner of the tenement. By

³²⁵ *SOAH2*, 36-65.

³²⁶ Stocker, 'The development', 76-97.

³²⁷ Stocker, 'The development', 78.

³²⁸ Stocker, 'The development', 78.

³²⁹ *HS*, p. 148; Wragge, 'Lincoln Cathedral', 81.

³³⁰ Srawley, *Origin*, 12.

³³¹ Stocker, 'The development', 78-83.

1501 there were 25 vicars, fifteen of whom were seniors; therefore ten junior vicars would have lived in this single building whereas fifteen senior vicars would have resided in the expanse of vicars' court.³³² In vicars' court there were six similar chambers in each range on both of the two floors; the chambers would most likely have been partitioned to form self-contained 'houses' joined by common staircases.³³³ This would have been similar to the style of accommodation of the vicars' college at York. At some point in the late fourteenth century (a date of 1380 has been suggested by Stocker) the concept of the college changed from accommodating both junior and senior vicars together to a divided entity where the two classes of vicar were housed in different courtyards.³³⁴ A plan showing this can be seen in Figure 19.

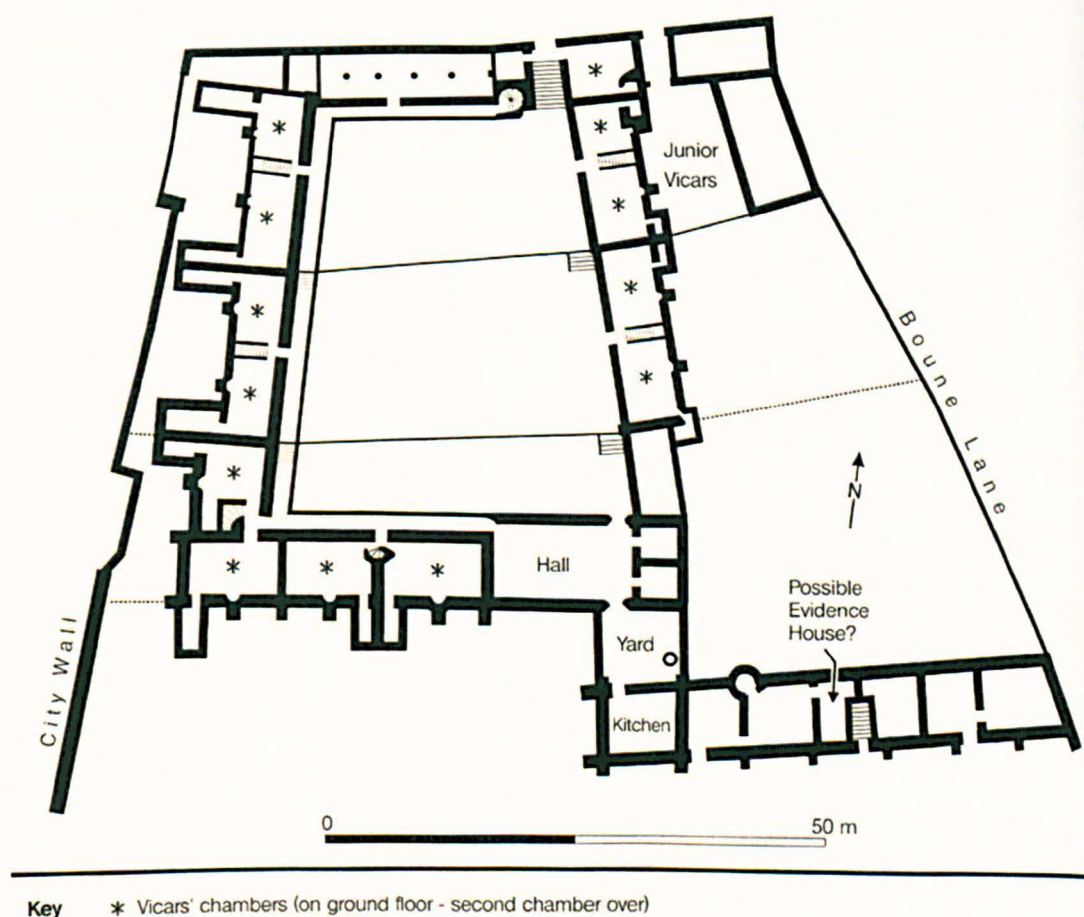


Figure 19: Ground floor plan of the vicars' chambers (Taken from Stocker, 'The development of the college', 89).

³³² Srawley, *Origin*, 12.

³³³ Stocker, 'The development', 86-87.

³³⁴ Stocker, 'The development', 89.

The disputes over the relative status of different classes of vicar had evidently become more critical as, in the early fourteenth century, the distinctions between junior and senior vicars had not been seen to be so great as to prevent them from dwelling together in the same courtyard. The senior vicars appear to have had architecturally more prestigious and comfortable individual accommodation, befitting their status as priests, whereas the inferior status of the junior vicars was emphasised by the restricted living conditions and cramped architecture of their new court.³³⁵ This shows how hierarchies developed even within classes of clergy at Lincoln Cathedral.

The south-east corner of the close also housed the residence of more junior clergy, the choristers, who also lived communally in 10 Minster Yard (Survey number 12). In 1316 Edward II confirmed the grant made by Richard de Rowell, Richard de Stretton and Hervey of Louth (agents of the chapter) to the Dean and Chapter of a messuage in Eastgate for the use of the choristers and adjacent to their dwelling place, for the enlargement thereof.³³⁶

³³⁵ Stocker, 'The development', 92.

³³⁶ *CPR* 1313-17, 390.

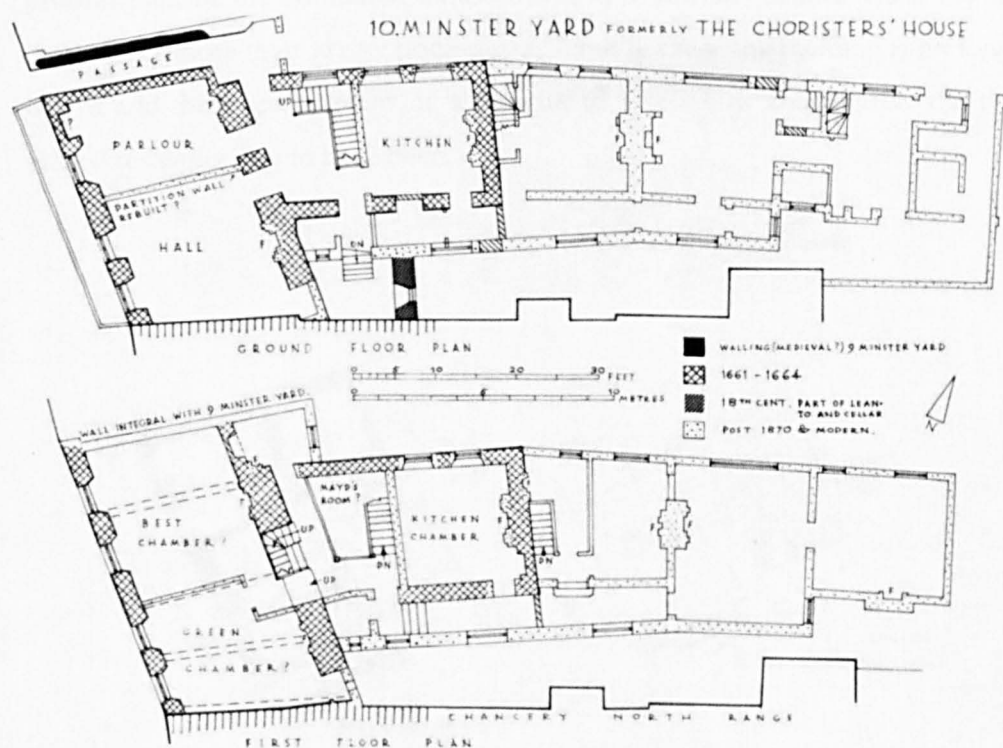


Figure 20: Ground floor and first floor plans of the former choristers' house drawn of buildings existing in 1650 (Taken from *SOAH1*, 48).

The ground floor and first floor plans of the former choristers' house drawn of the buildings existing in 1650 can be seen in Figure 20.³³⁷ The medieval building most probably consisted of a first floor hall above a vaulted basement, whilst the open hall was at ground level and attached to the two-storied building.³³⁸ The division of the west end on the first floor into three perhaps suggests that there were three communal dormitories for the twelve choristers; this would have been adequate space and would have facilitated bonding between the young boys. This tenement was much larger than that assigned to the poor clerks who also lived in the south-east corner (Survey numbers 4 and 5). There is a strong claim that can be made for the site of the poor clerks' hall and hospice as being on the site of the present 3 and 4 Minster Yard.³³⁹ Archaeological evidence shows that the tenement comprising 4 Minster Yard, which belonged to the poor clerks, was a

³³⁷ *SOAH1*, 48.

³³⁸ *SOAH1*, 49.

³³⁹ *SOAH1*, 33.

humbler dwelling and shorter version of the present house. Figure 21 shows a ground plan of the combined tenements 3, 4, 5 and 5a Minster Yard.³⁴⁰ There were never more than twelve poor clerks,³⁴¹ but because the building is no longer extant and there are no plans, it is difficult to assess how comfortable the poor clerks' residence would have been.

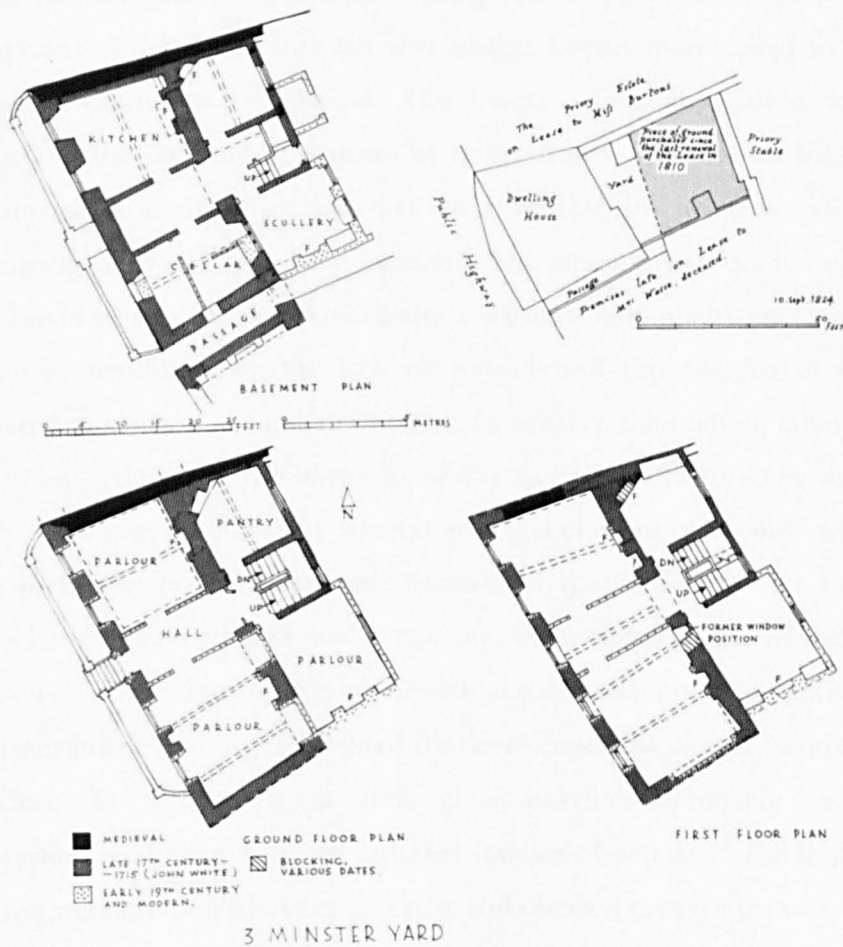


Figure 21: Ground plan of the former poor clerks' residence (Taken from *SOAH1*, 36).

³⁴⁰ *SOAH1*, 36.
³⁴¹ Srawley, *Origin*, 12.

Conclusion

It seems that there was a variety of housing provided in Lincoln Cathedral close to fulfil a number of different purposes. The dignitaries all had reasonably large and grand houses, befitting their statuses, but also to enable them to carry out their responsibilities to the community, such as providing hospitality. The accommodation available to residentiary canons and also laypeople in the close was of variable quality; there were some grandiose properties suitable for the most powerful clergy and laity but also smaller houses more suited to the less prominent canons and laypeople. The range of accommodation was well matched to the diversity of statuses in this category. The houses for chantry chaplains were arranged so that they were suitable for living in rather than entertaining, as would have been expected. The junior clergy had more humble communal lodgings, devised to facilitate a sense of community and their lower status was reinforced by the lack of privacy and capacity for entertaining compared to some of the grander houses. In essence, the housing arrangements in the close reinforced the hierarchy of the cathedral and to some extent lay society. However, the hierarchy was not arranged in terms of “zones” within the close; there was no particular area considered specifically to have the lower quality housing or the better quality housing. For example, some of the grander houses were situated near the more modest accommodation of the junior clergy; this arrangement may have prevented the development of certain factions within the close. In fact, living in such close proximity probably encouraged relationships to develop between different statuses of people.³⁴² The laypeople in the close were not singled out as outsiders and directed towards the worse quality housing that the canons had rejected; there is no evidence to suggest that a layperson considered of the appropriate status would be denied access to a particular house. The arrangement of the cathedral close at Lincoln could be seen to allow integration of the community whilst simultaneously underlining both clerical and lay hierarchies.

³⁴² See C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later middle ages, social change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), 188-191 for a discussion of proximity in urban areas.

Chapter 2: Identities of the inhabitants of Lincoln

Cathedral close

This chapter will provide a frame of reference for the thematic chapters that follow by exploring the identities of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century. It will discuss the difficulties in defining social status in the later medieval period and follows a simple methodology to classify the close inhabitants for the purposes of this thesis. The signs or markers of status will be discussed in the context of evidence from the wills. The next part of this chapter will focus upon evidence of the cathedral close inhabitants' geographical origins and connections derived from the wills; adopting Lepine's methodology to make informed judgements using the available evidence. Examples of networks of testators' connections will be traced on maps. The second part of this section will discuss fifteenth-century university education and examine evidence for the education and careers of the cathedral close inhabitants, using secondary reference works such as Alfred Emden's *Biographical registers of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to 1500* in conjunction with testamentary evidence. This section will conclude by analysing evidence of book ownership for the close inhabitants and what can be learned of their cultural and intellectual interests.

Social status and geographical connections

Social status

Discerning the social status of an individual in the middle ages brings with it a particular set of problems of definition. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the criteria used to define particular groups in medieval society differ between historians, but also the ways that historians define social layers differ from the definitions used by contemporaries. The medieval population desired order in society, and hierarchy was integral to the foundation of this order.³⁴³ Rosemary Horrox proposed that medieval society 'to a degree which modern readers sometimes find disconcerting, was based on hierarchy. Human society,

³⁴³ J. Goldberg, *Medieval England, a social history 1250-1550* (London, 2004), 3.

mirroring the whole created universe, was arranged in order of importance'.³⁴⁴ As a result medieval people accepted hierarchies 'variously associated with social rank, with legal status, with age, with household and marital status or with ethnic identity' and were proficient at negotiating between these differing and overlapping hierarchies.³⁴⁵

Accounts of social structure produced by contemporaries of medieval England tend to describe it based on functionally differentiated social orders as opposed to economic classes.³⁴⁶ For example, John Gower viewed society as a hierarchy 'in which each order had its own proper function whose performance was necessary for the welfare of the entire community'.³⁴⁷ By the fifteenth century, the Carolingian idea that society was divided into three orders, those who prayed (clergy), those who fought (nobility) and those who worked (peasants,) was still promulgated for moral and exultatory purposes. Modern social theorists such as Max Weber did not view medieval societies in these terms. Weber developed a theory of social status; he defined status societies as those founded on non-economical qualities such as lifestyle and hereditary or occupational prestige. Class societies were classified as those based on economically determined relationships concerning the production and acquisition of goods.³⁴⁸ The functional perspective supports the picture of late medieval England as a status society. Maurice Keen characterises late medieval England as a 'deference society' as he believes that the relations of deference and service existing between the different levels of society were the basis of social order.³⁴⁹

However this description of medieval social structure in terms of functionally distinguished orders arranged in a hierarchy of status and prestige has been criticised by Steven Rigby for several reasons. Rigby highlights the fact that there are problems with the theory's explanation of why particular types of social evaluation exist in certain societies. He argues that the theory underestimates the

³⁴⁴ R. Horrox, 'Service' in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), 61.

³⁴⁵ Goldberg, *Medieval England*, 3.

³⁴⁶ S. Rigby, *English society in the later middle ages: class, status and gender* (London, 1995), 182.

³⁴⁷ Rigby, *English society*, 182.

³⁴⁸ Rigby, *English society*, 184.

³⁴⁹ M. Keen, *English society in the later middle ages 1348-1500* (London, 1990), 1.

degree of class conflict in medieval society. Another problem with the theory that he identifies is the fact that it ignores the disparities that exist between social theory and social reality. According to Rigby, the theory does not specify the nature of non-class social differences. Finally, the theory's emphasis on taking the view of contemporaries fails to take into account why individuals might present certain biased conceptions of society for their own purposes.³⁵⁰ It seems more sensible to conclude that the medieval social orders were not ranked simply according to functionality and status; there were many competing and occasionally conflicting conceptions of social hierarchy held by contemporaries.

The terminology used by scholars to describe the secular landowning classes can be confusing. Most scholars use 'aristocracy' to describe all levels of society from lords of single manors to holders of vast estates – some scholars distinguish between a 'greater' aristocracy, also variously known as the nobility or peerage consisting of barons, earls and dukes, and a 'lesser' aristocracy or 'gentry' consisting of knights, esquires and gentlemen.³⁵¹ There were no members of the greater aristocracy living in the close throughout the period of study, although members of the clergy may have had family connections with this group. Although historians find it difficult to agree what was meant exactly by the term 'gentry' and try to define more precisely definitions based on land tenure and income, it is generally agreed that the term 'gentry' referred to two statuses of persons in the fourteenth century: knights and esquires. Wills survive for Thomas Burgh (knight) who rented the combined tenements of 4 and 5 Pottergate in the close 1465-1471, and for Ellen Retford (widow of Henry Retford, knight), who both lived at Deloraine Court in James Street 1460-1461.³⁵² *The survey of ancient houses* volumes indicate that there were at least two other men with the status of knight and another widow of a knight also living in the close in the late fifteenth century.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ For a full discussion of these points see Rigby, *English society*, 186-191.

³⁵¹ Goldberg, *Medieval England*, 114.

³⁵² *SOAH*, 79; *SOAH3*, 70.

³⁵³ Sir Robert Markham lived at 2 Minster Yard 1480-1501/2: *SOAH1*, 5; Sir Robert Waterton lived in Deloraine Court in James Street 1464/1465-1474/1475: *SOAH3*, 70. After his death Waterton's widow lived in the house known as Colby Place/Ederstone Place in 1477: *SOAH3*, 93.

Knights formed the rank directly below the aristocracy, but by the end of the thirteenth century there were men with enough land to hold office, their position enhanced by their role in the crown's administration, but without any special mark of distinction.³⁵⁴ This distinction was delineated by the introduction of the title of 'esquire'. There were only two men who lived in the close and defined themselves as 'esquires' in their wills and one other layman from *The survey of ancient houses* list of inhabitants for the close who is listed as 'esquire', although other men who called themselves 'laymen' might also have been of esquire status.³⁵⁵ This classification process saw further problems in the fifteenth century, as a new term was needed to describe those who were too wealthy to be called yeomen and yet too poor to rank as esquires.³⁵⁶ The Statute of Additions of 1413 has been considered by some historians to be the legal recognition of the status of 'gentleman' for the lowest rank of the well born, as this classification was recognised by the law as a separate title.³⁵⁷ None of the close inhabitants described themselves as being a 'gentleman' in their will, although it seems likely that those who were known as 'laymen' might have been of gentle status. The smaller, non-knightly landowners, whose status had been uncertain, were recognised as belonging to gentle society, their superior birth confirmed by possession of a coat of arms.³⁵⁸

Social origins of close inhabitants

It is very difficult to establish the social origins of the inhabitants of the cathedral close due to a lack of direct evidence. Lepine's study of the higher clergy of

³⁵⁴ C. Carpenter, *Locality and polity: a study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401 – 1499* (Cambridge, 1992), 41.

³⁵⁵ Henry Fotherby LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 131r and Ralph Babthorpe LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 37r. Henry Grimesby who lived in the house known as Colby Place/Ederston Place in 1488/89 is also described as 'esquire': *SO.1H3*, 93. The problems with defining statuses is highlighted by the case of Ralph Babthorpe, who in his will referred to himself as an esquire and yet in the chapter accounts is referred to as a layman (LCL D&C Bj/5/11, fo. 2r).

³⁵⁶ Saul, *Knights and esquires*, 18.

³⁵⁷ P. Coss, *The origins of the English gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), 251; Carpenter, *Locality*, 45; P. Coss, 'An age of deference' in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006), 42; E. Acheson, *A gentry community, Leicestershire in the fifteenth century c.1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992), 34.

³⁵⁸ N. Saul, *Knights and esquires: the Gloucestershire gentry in the fourteenth century* (Oxford, 1981), 29.

Lincoln Cathedral 1300–1541 indicated that much less is known about their social origins than their geographical origins and so he was unable to provide a valid statistical analysis of their social statuses.³⁵⁹ Lepine also warned against drawing conclusions from negative evidence; the absence of information about canons' origins cannot be assumed to indicate obscure and therefore humble origins when the general evidence base suggests that most canons came from landowning families, even though there was great variation in their status and wealth.³⁶⁰ In terms of discussing social status using the evidence of wills, it is more feasible to concentrate on collecting clues about the social level that the close inhabitants had reached at the end of their life, at the point they were making their will. This approach in itself has its own problems because allocating a person to a social rank can only be done on an impressionistic basis. As has been mentioned previously, the will as a document has its problems as a piece of evidence, because wills do not contain identical information and additionally there is much more about the lives of the testators that wills do not reveal.³⁶¹ John Friedman claimed that in order to make a will in the medieval period, one needed to have goods valued at five pounds, approximately the value of two service books, although it is not clear where he determined this figure from.³⁶² In addition, one of his footnoted references, although covering a later period, indicated that wills were proved where the estate was valued under five pounds, so the fact that a will existed cannot be used to prove value of estate and therefore social status.³⁶³ It seems likely that one would have only made a will if there was a sufficient estate to distribute.

It is possible to allocate the cathedral close testators into particular classes. For the purposes of this chapter, these classes will be named simply the upper and lower ranks of medieval society and this classification is based upon certain criteria using information from the wills. Firstly, one can look at whether the testator explicitly stated their role in medieval society. Secondly, one can allocate

³⁵⁹ Lepine, '“My beloved sons”', 102-103.

³⁶⁰ Lepine, 'Origins', 95.

³⁶¹ See Introduction, 27-29.

³⁶² J. Friedman, *Northern English books, owners, and makers in the late middle ages* (New York, 1995), 3.

³⁶³ R. Marchant, *The Church under the law: justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1969), 24.

testators into either category based upon an appraisal of their wealth, as demonstrated through their bequests. The full value of each testator's wealth cannot be known, as they might have made other arrangements for their money, moveable goods and lands in their lifetimes and also wills provide limited and erratic coverage of both moveable goods and real estate. Nevertheless, it is possible to glean an impression of wealth by looking at the value of monetary bequests and luxury items. A testator would need to have made one or more single monetary bequests of more than £5 or of an item with a value of more than £5 such as, for example, a piece of jewellery, a weapon or an ornament made of a precious metal or a piece of clothing made of valuable materials, such as a furred gown, to be classified here as belonging to this upper strata. Possession of luxury goods would have been an important indicator of status, as these were scarce and expensive items; owning them brought people of similar standing together and excluded those who did not belong.³⁶⁴ Any testators who made low value monetary bequests and bequeathed low value items have been classified as being from the lower ranks of society.

It has been possible to locate 91 wills for the inhabitants of the cathedral close in the late fifteenth century. The inhabitants of the close who were members of the clergy all gave details of their rank in the Church in their wills; there were 60 clerical close inhabitants and these can be divided into two groups. Historians usually refer to the senior group, consisting of all dignitaries, canons and archdeacons as the higher clergy; eighteen wills survive issued by members of this group. 42 wills survive issued by members of the lower clergy, a group including vicars choral, chantry chaplains, poor clerks and vergers. There are 31 wills for the lay members of close: eight laywomen and 23 laymen – this was quite a high proportion of the total close inhabitants. Six of the laymen explicitly stated their role in medieval society in their wills and one laywoman stated the role of her deceased husband (see Tables 6 and 7), which gives an indication as to their social standing. These seven people were a watchman of the close, a tailor, a goldsmith, two esquires, a knight and the widow of a knight. It has been possible to find other evidence that attests to status for two other close inhabitants. The

³⁶⁴ C. Dyer, 'Luxury goods in medieval England' in B. Dodds and C. Liddy (eds.), *Commercial activity, markets and entrepreneurs in the middle ages, essays in honour of Richard Britnell* (Woodbridge, 2011), 221.

cathedral rentals describe Robert Bedale, who lived at a house in the close known as Atton Place 1439-1444, and then 8 Eastgate 1445-1450, as a tiler, employed by the Dean and Chapter.³⁶⁵ John Makynson (layman) did not state his occupation but his bequest of 6d to the tailor's guild and his choice of fellow close resident Henry Massham (tailor) as one of his executors might suggest that this was most likely his form of employment.³⁶⁶ The wills for the remainder of the lay close inhabitants do not leave any further clues as to their occupation or role in medieval society.

It is possible to learn more about the backgrounds of the close inhabitants by examining evidence not only for them but also for their family members and associates. An important source for the key people involved in the government of fifteenth-century Lincolnshire is the list of returns for parliamentary electors. The county court was at the heart of county business and in this court the knights of the shire, the county representatives to parliament, were elected.³⁶⁷ Those responsible for electing the knights of the shire were usually from a particular social rank, coming from either knightly or armigerous families, or perhaps individuals who were noted as gentlemen.³⁶⁸ Only one inhabitant of the cathedral close is listed as part of this group, Henry Fotherby (esquire) who refers to himself in his will, dated 4 February 1469, as an esquire and can be identified as the Henry Foterby, esquire, who was a parliamentary elector in 1467 and whose father John was the escheator for Lincolnshire 1470-1471.³⁶⁹ The lack of civic officials in the close appears to be a continuation from the fourteenth century, where the evidence suggests that this group lived predominantly near the Stonebow, the southern gate of the city.³⁷⁰ Several of the men involved at this level of county government were related to inhabitants of the cathedral close. For example, Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471), whose will informs us about his closeness to kinsmen living in Stallingborough, was most probably the uncle of

³⁶⁵ LCL D&C Bj/2/13, *sub annis*.

³⁶⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 105v.

³⁶⁷ A. Rogers, 'The Lincolnshire county court in the fifteenth century', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 1 (1966), 64.

³⁶⁸ Rogers, 'County court', 65.

³⁶⁹ A. Rogers, 'Parliamentary electors in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 3 (1968), 61-See Henry Fotherby's will - LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 131v.

³⁷⁰ See Kissane, *Identities*, chapter 1, especially 57-69.

the Edward Ascough of Stallingborough, an esquire who was a parliamentary elector for the county in 1472.³⁷¹ Edward's father, John Ascough, was also an esquire and he could be identified with the John Ayscogh who was a key beneficiary from Robert's will.³⁷² Thomas Wymbysh, esquire, who was a parliamentary elector in 1460, 1472 and 1478 (and became mayor of Lincoln in 1478), was most probably the nephew of Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) who received a register and a book of statutes from Nicholas' will.³⁷³ The status of the families of inhabitants of the cathedral close can be assumed to reflect the social standing of the close inhabitants themselves and Henry Fotherby, Robert Ayscogh and Nicholas Wymbysh all appeared to have their roots in influential Lincolnshire gentry families. However, Lepine's study indicated that the number of gentry families providing canons for Lincoln Cathedral was not as large as the number for Exeter Cathedral.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ Rogers, 'Parliamentary electors 1968', 43.

³⁷² Rogers, 'Parliamentary electors 1968', 43 - See Ayscogh's will - LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 129v-130v. See Chapter 3, 194-195.

³⁷³ A Rogers, "Parliamentary electors in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued", *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 6 (1971), 78 - See Nicholas Wymbysh's will - LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 87v-88v.

³⁷⁴ BCSG, 51.

Table 6: Lay male inhabitants of the close for whom wills exist	
Name	Status
John Cartwryght	Layman
William Hatton	Layman, husband of Margaret Hatton
John Gray	Layman, brother of Alice Gray (alias Paynter)
Thomas Bovile	Citizen of Lincoln
Nicholas Prowett	Layman, nephew of Alexander Prowett
Laurence Marshall	Layman, watchman of Lincoln Cathedral close
Robert Strickland	Layman, Goldsmith
John Makynson	Layman
Henry Fotherby	Esquire
Peter Dicson	Layman
Robert Bedale	Tiler to the Dean and Chapter
Henry Massham	Tailor
William Lathbury	Layman
William Dunwyche	Layman
Sir Thomas Burgh	Knight
Ralph Babthorpe	Esquire, son of Joan Fitzwilliam and father of Thomas Babthorpe
Thomas Hanworth	Layman
Thomas Coon	Layman
Richard Lawson	Layman
Christopher Thomson	Layman, brother of John Baildon
John Baildon	Layman, brother of Christopher Thomson
William Walker	Layman
Thomas Babthorpe	Layman

Table 7: Lay female inhabitants of the close for whom wills exist	
Name	Status
Margaret Hatton	Wife of William Hatton
Ellen Retford	Widow of Henry Retford, knight
Margaret Fenton	Wife of John Fenton
Joan Fitzwilliam	Laywoman
Alice Gray (alias Paynter)	Laywoman
Katherine Goderic	Laywoman
Matilda Lawson	Widow
Margaret Deve	Widow

After a close reading of the individual wills, according to the criteria discussed above, 31 close inhabitants could be classed as being from the upper ranks of medieval society. This group consists of seven laymen, three laywomen, seventeen members of the higher clergy and four of the lower clergy. The vast wealth and luxurious bequests of Thomas Burgh, knight, are discussed elsewhere in this thesis, as are the bequests of esquires Ralph Babthorpe and Henry Fotherby.³⁷⁵ However, laymen from other occupations were also able to class themselves as being from the upper ranks of society. Although Robert Bedale was described as being a tiler, the fact that he was living in the close suggests that he was not simply an employee, perhaps he was the master craftsman who was responsible for overseeing building work on the cathedral. He was certainly able to accumulate some wealth: he bequeathed £20 and his messuages in the parish of St Botulph, as well as a garden in the parish of St Swithin to his wife Matilda.³⁷⁶ John Baildon, a layman whose occupation was not specified, also made some valuable bequests. He bequeathed, among other things, £20 to be shared between his two children, two horses to members of the cathedral clergy, a tawny gown furred with black lamb fur to his nephew and a gold brooch with five stones and three pearls to his sister.³⁷⁷ Laymen such as this might have been classed as the urban gentry.

Clothing was also an important sign of social rank – the type of fur signalled one's station and wealth.³⁷⁸ Ellen Retford's late husband Henry had been a knight and an important figure in the government of Lincolnshire.³⁷⁹ Although Ellen would not have had the same access to their wealth as her husband, her will still contained some valuable items. A suit of armour and a canopy for a bed were bequeathed to her late husband's nephew, earrings and head adornments as well as two furred gowns each were bequeathed to two of her friends and a lined gown of muster-de-vilers to Ysote, her chamber attendant.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ See Chapters 3, 211-212, 212-213, 217-218 and Chapter 4, 266-267.

³⁷⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 134v.

³⁷⁷ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134r.

³⁷⁸ M. Kowaleski, 'A consumer economy' in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200 – 1500* (Cambridge, 2006), 246.

³⁷⁹ A. Rogers, 'Parliamentary electors 1969 in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 4 (1969), 47.

³⁸⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v. Musterdevilleurs (MS) was a kind of woollen cloth, imported from Montivilliers in Normandy - see entry for muster-de-vilers in *MED*.

The higher clergy, more than the lower clergy, meet this study's criteria for the 'upper ranks' of society. Lepine indicated in his study of the canons of English secular cathedrals that most canons came from landholding families, although there was considerable variation in their status and wealth, ranging from the yeomanry to the peerage.³⁸¹ The wills of the higher clergy reveal that some members of this class were extremely wealthy. John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) clearly had enormous personal wealth as he was able to leave 200 marks to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral so that they could acquire rents and temporal goods for the augmentation of the fabric in return for establishing a perpetual chantry for his soul.³⁸² He also bequeathed 100 marks to the Master and fellows of the College of the Blessed Mary and All Saints, Lincoln at Oxford University in return for establishing an obit for him in a chapel of the college.³⁸³

William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) was also a significantly wealthy man. He owned an array of luxury items including a vial of gold, a pair of garnet rosary beads and a red velvet cope which he bequeathed to the high altar of the cathedral, as well as leaving a silver gilt chrismatory that was worth £10 to the cathedral vestry.³⁸⁴ He also had land and property: a house in an unidentified location and a croft in Welton. This is in addition to a house in Welton with two acres of land and a field that sometime belonged to Thomas Langton, which he bequeathed to the priests at Burton.³⁸⁵ On top of this, Skelton also bequeathed to the chaplains of the Burghersh chantry a field in Newland, with a pound for keeping animals in, that they could let yearly for 6s to generate extra income.³⁸⁶ To the senior vicars, Skelton granted the residue of his lease of a garden located beside the kilnhouse within the cathedral close, which contained saffron plants and other fruit trees.³⁸⁷ Skelton specifically mentioned that he hoped the garden would be a pleasure for the vicars because it had cost him a lot of money!

³⁸¹ *BCSG*, 48.

³⁸² LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87r.

³⁸³ LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 87r-87v.

³⁸⁴ LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 12v-13r.

³⁸⁵ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14r.

³⁸⁶ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14r.

³⁸⁷ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14r. The saffron plant (MS safferon) was a costly substance - see entry on saffroun in *MED* (1980), 30.

Still, it is evident from looking more carefully at the wills of people who could be referred to as being from the upper ranks of medieval society that the distinction was not clear cut. Those persons referred to as lower clergy could also qualify for this status. William Kyrke (verger) would have been considered of lower status than a priest in major orders, and yet his will reflects a person of higher social standing. Kyrke had a large amount of money at his disposal as he was able to leave his executors £46 13s 4d to fund his chantry.³⁸⁸ The personal possessions that he bequeathed are also suggestive of a person from the upper ranks of medieval society. An unidentified person named Bartholomew Undyrwood was the beneficiary of many of these fine items, including Kyrke's best bed of green silk with all the hangings and accessories, six cushion covers decorated with tapestry work, his best violet gown furred with marten and his best russet gown furred with beaver, as well as a gold ring sculpted with a lion.³⁸⁹ The skins of sable and marten were popular in the fifteenth century because their scarceness made them valuable.³⁹⁰ Other valuable bequests included a silver bowl, decorated on the bottom with a falcon, which was bequeathed to Agnes Sleaford and a silver chalice and two vials of silver, which were bequeathed to the monastery of Charterhouse, near London.³⁹¹ It seems possible that this may have been a layman, perhaps a mercer judging by the expensive fabrics and clothing he owned, who had earned his money from a trade and taken up a post in the Church in his advanced years for the good of his soul. This would explain why he had not advanced in the Church hierarchy and yet had wealth comparable with, and in some cases exceeding that of, a residentiary canon or dignitary.

A majority of 60 close inhabitants could be categorised, according to the above criteria, as being from the lower levels of medieval society. This group consists of sixteen laymen, five laywomen, 38 members of the lower clergy and one member of the higher clergy. The laymen from this group who disclosed their status in their wills are from trades, such as John Makynson (tailor) and Robert Strickland (goldsmith). Makynson made only four bequests, of which the largest monetary

³⁸⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 140v.

³⁸⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 140v - see entry for martrin (MS marten) - skin or fur of the European polecat in *MED*. See also entry for bever (MS bevyr) - skin or fur of the European beaver in *MED*.

³⁹⁰ Kowaleski, 'A consumer economy', 250.

³⁹¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 140v-141r.

bequest was 12d; he bequeathed his tailoring tools to his son.³⁹² The female inhabitants of the close tended to make a larger number of bequests of small household items, such as Margaret Fenton (wife of John Fenton) who made many small monetary bequests, bequests of household items such as sheets, pillows and headscarves.³⁹³ Most of those who were considered lower clergy appeared to be from the lower levels of society. Many of the lower clergy wills included small value monetary bequests to clergy brethren and friends along with household items and clothing/vestments. For example, Nicholas Traford (vicar choral c. 1483-1510) whose will consisted of small bequests: 20s to the fabric of the cathedral and 6s 8d to the high altar, 3s 4d to the fabric of the church of Chesterfield, 3s 4d to the clerks guild, a gown of his choice to his brother Richard and 4d each to six vicars carrying his body for burial.³⁹⁴ There is only one member of the higher clergy whose will does not fit the profile for belonging to the category for the upper levels of society. John Lilford (prebendary of Caistor 1473-1477) was the only member of the higher clergy whose monetary bequests came to less than £5; he did not bequeath any particularly valuable items.³⁹⁵ However, it is best not to read too much into this negative evidence as Lilford might have made the majority of the gifts of his goods whilst he was still alive or he might have had other financial problems or responsibilities not mentioned in his will.

The analysis above of the testamentary evidence suggests that the close was inhabited by a broad spectrum of people in terms of status. The composition of the close inhabitants was mainly clerical: two thirds clergy, as opposed to one third laity and approximately a quarter of the laity were female. The sample of wills studied indicates that two thirds of the close inhabitants were from the lower ranks of society, mostly lower clergy, and among the laity tradesmen, employees of the Dean and Chapter, and their families. Their wills reflect their humbler position in society. These people would have been neighbours with a smaller yet important group of higher status close inhabitants, mainly higher clergy and members of the urban gentry. Some members of this group have

³⁹² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 105v.

³⁹³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101v. See Chapter 3, 200.

³⁹⁴ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 25r.

³⁹⁵ LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 84v-85r.

revealed through their wills that they were exceptionally wealthy and, presumably as a result of this wealth, they were influential people. This could be a sign of the growing gentrification of the close. The division of the testators into the categories of the upper and lower ranks of medieval society is simplistic and does not reflect the wide range of backgrounds encompassed within these two categories. This is because the nature of the evidence does not allow a more statistical assignment of status based upon detailed knowledge of total lands, wealth and other indicators of status. It is difficult to place this information into perspective as there have been no comparable studies of the social status of close inhabitants for other medieval cathedrals. What can be learned, however, from this analysis, is that access to the close was not as exclusive as it might have been perceived by modern historians; living in the close brought together representatives of a variety of different strands of society in a unique way.

Geographical connections

From the testamentary evidence, it is possible to gain a considerable amount of information about the places that the testators had connections with. Unfortunately what the evidence does not disclose is why a testator had a connection with a particular place. There could be many reasons; for example this could have been a place that they originated from, where they had lived previously, where their friends or family lived and in the case of the clergy, it could have been a place where they had held ecclesiastical office previously. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact geographical origins of each testator; there is only one example from this group of wills of a testator indicating this. Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) explicitly stated his birthplace as being Hawksworth in Nottinghamshire.³⁹⁶ Two other members of the higher clergy, Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) and Robert Mason's (precentor 1482-1493) origins are highlighted by Alfred Emden: Simeon was from Lewknor, in Oxfordshire and Mason was from St Mary's parish, Reading.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v.

³⁹⁷ BRUO3, 1702; BRUO2, 1240.

This thesis has followed the model of Lepine's prosopographical studies of cathedral canons in his monograph and collected articles.³⁹⁸ Lepine acknowledges the difficulties with defining the geographical origins of individuals but I concur with him that it is possible to make more informed, yet still speculative geographical attributions in some cases. This can be facilitated by looking at the full text of each will and comparing the types of bequests made and the number of bequests made to particular places, as well as factors such as the location of chantries and burial location. The identification of locations mentioned in the wills has been greatly assisted by Eilert Ekwall and Kenneth Cameron's volumes of place name dictionaries.³⁹⁹ Take for example the will of Richard Patryngton (poor clerk). Although by the fifteenth century using toponymic surnames to attribute origins is less reliable, it is possible to use it in this case in conjunction with supporting evidence. Patryngton directed that all of his lands and tenements in the town of Patrington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, should be sold by his executors under the supervision of John Neutone, his brother.⁴⁰⁰ In addition to this, he requested a chantry in Patrington parish church for his soul and the souls of his parents and benefactors.⁴⁰¹ The surname evidence, combined with the fact that Patryngton owned land and most likely had family in the village, and also his desire to establish his chantry there, all indicate his origins were in East Yorkshire. However, this sort of speculation is only applicable when the evidence lends itself to this type of analysis.

Other close inhabitants are more difficult to place. John Leek (sacrist c.1426-1457), requested burial in Lincoln Cathedral and left bequests to each order of friars in Lincoln as well as to two Lincoln guilds and two churches.⁴⁰² This is not surprising, as he was ending his life in Lincoln and had spent over twenty years there. He might even have originated from Lincoln, as it is not clear from the testamentary evidence that there is an obvious area where he originated from or had particularly strong connections with. He left bequests to the churches of Sherington in Buckinghamshire, Fulbeck in Kesteven and Broxholme in the West

³⁹⁸ BCSG; Lepine, '“My beloved”', 89-113; Lepine, 'Origins', 87-120.

³⁹⁹ E. Ekwall, *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (4th edn., Oxford, 1974); K. Cameron, *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names* (Nottingham, 1998).

⁴⁰⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 10v.

⁴⁰¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 10v.

⁴⁰² LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 48v-49v.

Riding of Lindsey. He also made a bequest to a monk at Ormsby priory in the North Riding of Lindsey and to Peter Bute (to whom he had an unspecified connection) who lived in Catworth, Huntingdonshire; so there is no single geographical area which Leek directed his bequests towards.⁴⁰³ It is easier to make geographical attributions if, for example, there is a pattern in the bequests. Richard Jonson (chaplain of the works chantry), made bequests to churches in Lincoln but also to churches in Saxilby, Burton, Riseholme, Nettleham and Greetwell, in the West Riding of Lindsey. He additionally bequeathed money to the churches of Skellingthorpe in Kesteven and Stainton by Langworth in the South Riding of Lindsey.⁴⁰⁴ These churches are situated to the north of the city and this evidence points to the fact that Jonson probably originated from a village no further away than ten miles north of Lincoln, possibly Stainton by Langworth, as his bequest to this church is larger than to the others.⁴⁰⁵

It is impossible to provide a full list of the geographical connections of the testators because not all of the places with which they had connections are mentioned in the wills, and equally not all of the people mentioned in wills were linked to places by the testator. Nevertheless, working within these limitations, it is interesting to consider the scope of geographical connections for the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as this sheds light on how far people might have travelled to live in the close. By comparing and contrasting the networks of connections that existed for each testator it is possible to learn more about their geographical associations. All of the testators living in the cathedral close made at least one bequest to an institution or person in the medieval diocese of Lincoln, an area stretching from the Humber to the Thames, covering the counties of Lincolnshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and a large part of Hertfordshire. Out of the total number of 91 wills, 34 or just over a third of testators, had connections only within the city of Lincoln and its suburbs. The 34 testators comprised thirteen laymen, sixteen members of the lower clergy, two higher clergy and three laywomen. This was

⁴⁰³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 48v-49v.

⁴⁰⁴ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 17r.

⁴⁰⁵ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 17r.

over half of the total number of laymen in the sample and by looking at some examples it seems that the laymen tended to have a range of local interests.

Henry Massham (tailor) certainly had strong local connections; he wanted to be buried in the nave of Lincoln Cathedral and left 20s to the fabric. Furthermore, he was a parishioner of St Mary Magdalene's church and bequeathed 3s 4d for forgotten tithes and his best garment to the rector of that church, 20d to the two parochial chaplains and 6s 8d to the fabric.⁴¹⁶ Massham had connections with multiple churches and guilds across the city: he left 20d to the fabric of the churches of Holy Cross and St Margaret in Wigford and 4s to the Corpus Christi guild of tailors, 3s 4d to the guild of St Anne, 12d to the guild of St Mary in St Rumbold's church and 12d to the guild of St Mary in St Mary's church in Wigford as well as 3s 4d to each order of friars in Lincoln.⁴¹⁷ Thirteen lower clergy also did not have wide-ranging connections. Although some members of the lower clergy made an odd bequest to another church or guild in Lincoln, many of the lower clergy whose connections were solely within Lincoln seemed to further restrict their connections to the cathedral. A good example is John Wyche (chaplain of the chantry of William son of Wolfe, Richard de Stretton and John Haryngton) who bequeathed 10s and a pair of coral beads with a silver gilded cross to the fabric of the cathedral for his burial and also made a series of small monetary bequests to various groups of clergy within the cathedral, such as residentiary canons, vicars choral and choristers, if they were present at his funeral.⁴¹⁸ It is likely that the testators who specified Lincoln only connections in their wills were native to the city and had remained there throughout their lives.

If we then extend the question to include testators who had connections only within the medieval diocese of Lincoln, then the results increase to 58 testators or almost two thirds of the total. This group consists of 21 laymen, 28 members of the lower clergy, four higher clergy and six laywomen. Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) had connections with places almost within a triangle to the north-east and north-west of Lincoln (See Appendix 6: Map 1). Ayscogh made a

⁴¹⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 139r.

⁴¹⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 139r. For more about bequests to local churches and guilds see Chapter 4, 274-283.

⁴¹⁸ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 85v (later foliation).

bequest of 8s towards the purchase of paintings and an ornamental crucifix for the parish church of Waltham, North Riding of Lindsey and he also requested that his executors should make an obit for him there for five years.⁴⁰⁹ He described his kinsmen as living in Stallingborough, also the North Riding of Lindsey and left monetary bequests to three nunneries in the area: Nun Coatham Cistercian nunnery in Brocklesby, Orford Premonstratensian nunnery at Stainton le Vale and the convent of Augustinian nuns in Grimsby.⁴¹⁰ It is probable that Ayscogh originated from this area of the diocese. However he also had connections with the West Riding of Lindsey, since he bequeathed a sacerdotal vestment worth 4 marks to the prebendal church of Kirton in Lindsey and a sacerdotal vestment worth 40s to the prebendal church of Welton.⁴¹¹ The laymen and women tended to have connections with fewer places than the clergy; for example, Christopher Thomson's (layman) only connection outside Lincoln was the house he owned in Nettleham, which he bequeathed to his wife.⁴¹² This suggests that the majority of people living in Lincoln Cathedral close had lived in the medieval diocese of Lincoln throughout their lives.

In some cases it is possible to be more precise about the areas in Lincoln diocese they and their families originated from. In crude terms, looking at the geographical divisions within the medieval diocese of Lincoln where the largest number of each testator's bequests were concentrated, it is possible to gain an impression of the areas with which the testators had the most ties to people and places. Appendix 6: Map 2 shows the divisions or wapentakes of the county of Lincolnshire. For 54 of the testators who made bequests within the county, it is possible to discern a particular division of Lincolnshire with which the testators shared a particular connection. For the other four testators, it is not possible to be as specific because the testators did not concentrate a majority of their total bequests on a particular locality. The results can be seen in Table 8 and it is evident that after the city of Lincoln, the area known as the West Riding of Lindsey was the one with which testators living in the close had the most connections.

⁴⁰⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁴¹⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁴¹¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁴¹² LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r.

Table 8: Number of testators with strong ties to a specific area of the medieval Diocese	
Area of medieval Diocese	Number of testators
Lincoln city	34
West Riding of Lindsey	10
South Riding of Lindsey	7
North Riding of Lindsey	1
Kesteven	1
Oxfordshire	1

Table 9: Places within the West Riding of Lindsey where testators had connections			
Name	Gender	Status	Geographical connections in West Riding of Lindsey
John Gray	M	L	Torksey, Isle of Axholme
Henry Fotherby	M	L	Burton, Thealby
Alice Gray (alias Paynter)	F	L	Isle of Axholme
Richard Jonson	M	LC	Saxilby, Riseholme, Nettleham, Greetwell
William Dighton	M	LC	Broxholme, Burton
Thomas Hanworth	M	L	Gainsborough, Springthorpe, Morton
Thomas Coon	M	L	Glentworth, Fillingham, Harpswell, Caenby, Glentham
Christopher Thomson	M	L	Nettleham
Maud Lawson	F	L	Cherry Willingham
Oliver Horner	M	LC	Normanby
Key			
M = Male	L = Laity		
F = Female	LC = Lower clergy		

The distribution of places with which the testators had connections within the West Riding of Lindsey can be seen in Table 9 and Appendix 6: Map 3. Thomas Hanworth (layman) had strong ties in particular to Gainsborough, suggesting his origins may have been there. He bequeathed 40s to the fabric of the church of Gainsborough, 5s to the high altar of the same church, 3s 4d to the guild of the church, also 6s 8d to the guild of the Holy Trinity in Gainsborough, as well as 5s

to the fabric of the parochial chapel of St Margaret in Gainsborough.⁴¹³ Hanworth also left a bequest of 3s 4d to the guild of St George in the neighbouring village of Springthorpe and 40s to his godson Thomas Beeke who lived in Morton, another village near Gainsborough.⁴¹⁴ The fact that the majority of close inhabitants who had connections solely within the medieval diocese of Lincoln had these associations with the West Riding of Lindsey, suggests that the main region from which people living outside of Lincoln came to the close, was the area between Lincoln and Burton-upon-Stather, approximately 30 miles to the north-west of the city.

It is interesting to speculate why so many people came to live in the cathedral close from this area. It is possible to ascertain the areas both within and without the medieval diocese where the Dean and Chapter held lands and churches by looking at the constituent parts which provided income for cathedral prebends.⁴¹⁵ The lands and rectories which had been acquired by the Dean and Chapter as sources of income for the common fund, shared between the residentiary canons, can also be traced.⁴¹⁶ In addition to this, there was also a payment known as the 'Oldminster fee' due to the Dean and Chapter from certain parishes. This payment was still found in the Chapter accounts in 1535 and although the nature of this payment is not explicit, it might represent tithes paid to the old minster of Lincoln before the transfer of the see from Dorchester, which had been maintained.⁴¹⁷ Those parishes and lands which were linked to the Dean and Chapter have been plotted on Appendix 6: Map 4 and it is evident that there are a significant cluster of parishes linked to the cathedral in the main region from which people living outside Lincoln came to live in the close. It is probably not a coincidence that some of the parishes which were subject to the jurisdiction of

⁴¹³ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

⁴¹⁴ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

⁴¹⁵ Diana Greenway outlined the holdings for the initial 56 prebends of the cathedral: *FL3*, 5-108 and H. P. F. King indicated the holdings for the prebends of Kilsby and Sutton-in-marisco which were established in 1379: *FL1*, 71; 114.

⁴¹⁶ See Major, 'Finances', 150-153 for a list of possessions of the common fund.

⁴¹⁷ Parishes listed as paying the 'Oldminster fee' can be found in Hill, *Lincoln*, 69-72.

the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, Glentham, East Rasen and Searby, also fell within this particular region, see Appendix 6: Map 5.⁴¹⁸

In addition to their Lincoln connections, 30 of the testators also had interests outside the diocese. As we see from Table 10 two-thirds of them had connections with one other diocese only.

**Table 10: Number of testators with connections
in multiple dioceses in addition to Lincoln**

Number of additional dioceses	Number of testators
1	20
2	7
3	1
4	1
5	1

⁴¹⁸ L. Poos, *Lower ecclesiastical jurisdictions in late-medieval England: the courts of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, 1336-1349, and the deanery of Wisbech, 1458-1484* (Oxford, 2001), xxii-xxiii.

**Table 11: Number of testators
with connections to dioceses
other than Lincoln**

Diocese	Number of testators
Chichester	1
Coventry and Lichfield	5
Durham	1
Ely	8
Hereford	2
London	3
Norwich	6
Rome (Italy)	2
Winchester	1
Worcester	1
York	13

From Table 11 it is clear that the highest number of testators had connections with York diocese. As has been mentioned previously, Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) stated his birth place as being Hawksworth in York diocese, and he also bequeathed 30s between the poor of the village. He also had a large number of connections to other places in this diocese, see Appendix 6: Map 6. Wymbysh arranged for one of the two chantries he requested to be established in the Chapel of St Leonard in East Stoke (Nottinghamshire) and he also left 30s to be distributed between the poor of East Stoke.⁴¹⁹ In addition to this, he made provision for the poor of many other villages in the same area: he left 30s to the poor of Flintham and 20s to the poor of Sibthorpe (as well as 15s between the warden and chantry chaplain of Sibthorpe). Wymbysh also bequeathed 20s each to the poor of Thoroton, Scarrington, Elston, Thorpe by Newark, Cotham and Syerston (Nottinghamshire). There were also bequests of 10s each to the poor of Skelton (North Yorkshire), Farndon and Hawton (Nottinghamshire) and a gift of 100s to amend bridges and roads in the Vale of Belvoir in the diocese of York.⁴²⁰ Additionally, Wymbysh had connections in the diocese of Ely, as he left money to scholars without benefices from Cambridge University (Cambridgeshire), as well as to scholars from Oxford University (Oxfordshire) in the medieval

⁴¹⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v.

⁴²⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 87v-88r.

diocese.⁴²¹ He also had connections in London diocese as he bequeathed 6s 8d to the wardens of the custodians of the fraternity of St Dunstan in West London.⁴²²

This is a wide network of connections even without taking into account Wymbysh's vast range of connections in the south of the medieval diocese of Lincoln. Wymbysh left 100s each to the poor of Pottersbury (Northamptonshire, as well as an additional 100s to the fabric of Pottersbury), Yardley Gobion (Northamptonshire) and Hanslope (Buckinghamshire).⁴²³ Wymbysh also left 100s to the poor of Olney (Buckinghamshire) where he had been incumbent. The value that Wymbysh placed on Olney is evident from his bequest of £20 for a licence to amortise tenements for maintenance of a perpetual chantry for Wymbysh and his relatives in the chapel of the St Mary, Olney, as well as an additional bequest of £20 to repair and maintain the bridges of Olney.⁴²⁴ John Eylestone, one of Wymbysh's executors, was instructed to take administration of his goods and to help the convent of Nocton amortise the lands, tenements and rents of Scott Willoughby and Osbournby at the expense of the prior and convent. The diocese of York was the diocese with which the most cathedral close testators had connections, followed by the dioceses of Ely, Norwich and Coventry and Lichfield in descending order. These dioceses were all geographically close to Lincoln diocese and this reinforces the idea that the geographical networks of the close inhabitants were limited by distance. The 'catchment area' of those coming to the close was mainly from due north and east, with few connections with the south-west.

The testators with the widest ranging connections tended to be the higher clergy. Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460) had a wide geographical scope of connections judging by the bequests he made to various places and people in the medieval dioceses of Lincoln, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Hereford, Winchester and Worcester:

⁴²¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r.

⁴²² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r.

⁴²³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v.

⁴²⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 87v-88r.

Likewise I bequeath to the church of Peasemore in the county of Berkshire 40s...Likewise I bequeath to the fabric of the collegiate church of St Chad, Shrewsbury, 40d. Likewise I bequeath that the sum of 46s 8d should be distributed to the poor of the parishes of Bicton, Onslow, Rossall, Broughton, Yorton, Betton in Hales and Ellesmere [Shropshire] for their relief, discharged from royal taxes...Likewise I bequeath to William Stevyns of Slaughter [Gloucestershire] and his sons 20s...Likewise I bequeath to the church of St Edward of Stow on the Wold [Gloucestershire], to observe my obit duly for 40 years according to the disposition of my executors or until the sum of £26 8s 4d is expended...Likewise I bequeath 200 yards of woollen cloth to the men and women most needy to be distributed as gowns immediately after my death in the towns and places, that is to say Lincoln [Lincolnshire], Kettering [Northamptonshire], Stow on the Wold [Gloucestershire], Shrewsbury [Shropshire] and Yelvertoft [Northamptonshire]... Likewise I remit to Thomas Myles of Coventry [Warwickshire], corviser, all the debts which he owes to me.⁴²⁵

It seems likely that Salisbury had the closest ties with the church of St Edward of Stow as he bequeaths a comparatively large amount of money to this church to conduct his anniversary services. The church in question is most likely the church of St Edward of Stow on the Wold in Gloucestershire, as this is the only location with 'Stow' in its title that also has a church dedicated to St Edward, and it is possible that Salisbury was born there.⁴²⁶ He also leaves a reasonable sum to be distributed between the poor of several places that can be identified with place names in modern day Shropshire.⁴²⁷ These bequests, in conjunction with his bequest to the collegiate church of Shrewsbury, indicate strong Shropshire ties and there is evidence to reinforce these conclusions.⁴²⁸ Thomas Salisbury was rector of the church of Peasemore, in Berkshire, until 5 May 1437 when he exchanged this with John Weborn for the archdeaconry of Shropshire and a

⁴²⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 85v-87r.

⁴²⁶ F. Arnold-Foster, *Studies in church dedications or England's patron saints, volume 1* (London, 1899), 269.

⁴²⁷ M. Gelling, *The place-names of Shropshire, part I* (Nottingham, 1990), 'Bicton', 46-47; 'Onslow', 228-229; 'Rossall', 251-252; 'Broughton', 64; 'Yorton', 334-335; 'Betton in Hales', 46-47; 'Ellesmere', 122-123.

⁴²⁸ I am grateful to David Lepine for pointing me in the direction of the following sources which helped to confirm Thomas Salisbury's connections with the Coventry and Lichfield diocese.

prebend in St Chad's collegiate church, Shrewsbury.⁴²⁹ On 4 May 1439 he was given a papal dispensation to hold the archdeaconry in plurality with another benefice, even if it had cure of souls.⁴³⁰ It is not possible to pinpoint the parishes Salisbury held but he remained as archdeacon of Shropshire 1437-1450 before he resigned and became archdeacon of Bedford 1450 -1460.⁴³¹ This example is unusual. As mentioned above, the majority of Lincoln Cathedral close testators had local connections within the city or even the wider diocese but were most certainly within Lincoln's sphere of influence.

This exploration of the geographical connections of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century highlights the fact that the majority of people living in the close would have been native to the medieval diocese of Lincoln and many of them would have been native to the city of Lincoln or have lived there for such a long time that any other geographical connections had been lost. The laity and lower clergy were the groups that were most likely to be local. This perhaps reflects the status of the cathedral, as the mother church of its diocese and seat of great power, it would have been the place where clergy and laity aspired to be, particularly clergy, as the cathedral was the largest source of benefices in the diocese.⁴³² Within Lincoln diocese, aside from the city of Lincoln, most people had connections with the West Riding of Lindsey, a location with which the cathedral was linked through the holding of a large number of lands, rectories and parishes, as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction of certain parishes in this area. These findings seem to fit with those of Lepine, and in fact, this analysis has brought a greater degree of precision to mapping the origins of the close inhabitants within the northern part of the diocese of Lincoln. Lepine concluded that the influence of Lincoln Cathedral waned at the southern limits of the medieval diocese, as fewer of the canons originated from places situated in the south.⁴³³ This is perhaps only natural in such a large diocese;

⁴²⁹ J. Le Neve and B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, Coventry and Lichfield Diocese* (London, 1964), 18.

⁴³⁰ J. Twemlow, *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, papal letters, volume IX A.D. 1431-1447* (London, 1912), 58.

⁴³¹ *FL1*, 17.

⁴³² *BCSG*, 46.

⁴³³ *BCSG*, 47.

it would not have been possible for Lincoln Cathedral to retain the same level of influence throughout.

The influence of St Paul's Cathedral in the south of the diocese needs consideration here. Despite the fact that its prebends were poorly endowed, the attraction of potential social contacts and the possibilities that could develop from holding prebends here, and also at larger collegiate churches such as St Martin le Grand, should not be underestimated.⁴³⁴ The cathedral appeared to retain its attraction to people from the north and east of the medieval diocese of Lincoln, as there were no other comparable churches in the immediate area. This pattern also fits in with Lepine's findings, although it is important to remember that this was a study solely of residentiary canons; Lepine's study did not include evidence for any other ranks of clergy and equally did not consider laypeople. Lepine found that the majority of canons originated from the diocese of Lincoln and the second highest number of canons had origins in the diocese of York.⁴³⁵ The higher clergy had wider connections than other groups because in order to attain their positions, as a result of their career progression, they might have already travelled from their place of origin, either in order to attend university and further their studies or to hold a more prominent or lucrative position in another part of the country.

Education, careers and cultural interests

The following section concentrates on evidence for the clergy cathedral close testators, which is more plentiful than for the lay residents of the close, with the majority of evidence relating to the university educated members of the clergy. These were all members of the higher clergy, residentiary canons and dignitaries.

Pre-university education and reasons for university attendance

It is difficult to be precise about the pre-university education of the residentiary canons. There were several places where clergy could gain a literary education: a

⁴³⁴ D. Keene, 'From conquest to capital : St Paul's c.1100-1300' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's, the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004), 25.

⁴³⁵ See table: *BCSG*, 43.

noble household, a religious house, a school or through private tuition. There is evidence existing for the pre-university education for only two of the dignitaries. Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) from St Mary's parish, Reading, was admitted to Winchester College in January 1433 and took his statutory oath in August 1434 and Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) from Lewknor, Oxfordshire, was admitted to the same college on 23 March 1463 and took a statutory oath in 1465.⁴³⁶ William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, had founded Winchester College in 1382, and although this was primarily a religious house, the provision for the school within the college was much larger than previous foundations.⁴³⁷ The bishop endowed 70 scholarships to train boys of modest means to a high standard for careers in the Church.⁴³⁸ This might suggest that Simeon and Mason came from humble backgrounds, however by the fifteenth century the school had diverged from its founder's plans and some scholars came from prosperous families, so we cannot assume Simeon and Mason to be as such.⁴³⁹ Both Simeon and Mason must have been exceptional scholars, as they won scholarships both for Winchester College and New College, Oxford, and they both completed higher degrees.

There were few careers for which a university education was strictly necessary, even within the Church – clergy were expected to have an understanding of the basic tenets of Catholic religion but not necessarily to comprehend in any depth.⁴⁴⁰ The securing of a benefice would have been the first step on a ladder of political and social advancement. Those students intending to pursue a university career might be seeking intellectual development but Robert Swanson indicates that most students were not motivated by such concerns; they went to university as an investment in their future career and anticipated the financial benefits of such an education.⁴⁴¹ For most clergy, their major ambition upon leaving university was to secure a financially rewarding benefice. Additionally, it would

⁴³⁶ BRUO2, 1240; BRUO3, 1702.

⁴³⁷ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 225.

⁴³⁸ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 225

⁴³⁹ Orme, *Medieval schools*, 226.

⁴⁴⁰ R. Swanson, 'Learning and livings: university study and clerical careers in later medieval England', *History of Universities*, 6 (1986-7), 84-85.

⁴⁴¹ Swanson, 'Learning', 83. See also: A. Cobban, 'Reflections on the role of the medieval universities in contemporary society' in L. Smith and B. Ward (eds.), *Intellectual life in the middle ages: essays presented to Margaret Gibson* (London, 1992), 228-229.

have been widely understood that licences for plurality made it possible to collect benefices on a large scale, to increase their annual income.⁴⁴² Nevertheless, in order to receive a benefice, the activity of an intermediary or a patron was necessary, and it would have been believed that a university education might make a graduate an attractive proposition for a patron.⁴⁴³ Even so, it is not clear from the records just how clergy learned about vacancies and made contact with relevant patrons.⁴⁴⁴ In seeking the most desirable benefices, the graduates faced competition from other clerks who had the advantage of lay, especially royal patronage, as the king used his considerable ecclesiastical patronage to reward those in his service.⁴⁴⁵

Studying at the medieval English universities

The ways in which students supported themselves whilst at university are largely unknown, although they would have needed considerable means to remain at university for any length of time. Some scholars depended upon the support of a lay or ecclesiastical patron. Educational bequests were a common theme in clerical wills in the later middle ages.⁴⁴⁶ It is not always obvious how the cathedral close testators supported themselves at university but they were certainly generous in their support of future university scholars. The students that they supported may have been their kinsmen or servants, or they might have made a more general charitable bequest to support scholars without other forms of funding. For example, John Tilney (prebendary of St Martin in Dernestall 1459-1474) left a legacy for his servant Robert Pecok to go to the University of Cambridge, Tilney's alma mater, at his expense.⁴⁴⁷ Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) bequeathed £40 and a small breviary to Thomas Boston, a chaplain, presumably from his household, to study at Oxford or Cambridge University and to pray especially for Nicholas's soul and the souls

⁴⁴² Bowker, *Secular clergy*, 73.

⁴⁴³ Swanson, 'Learning', 85.

⁴⁴⁴ *BCSG*, 69.

⁴⁴⁵ T. Evans, 'The number, origins and careers of scholars' in J. Catto and T. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 531.

⁴⁴⁶ *BCSG*, 56.

⁴⁴⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 135r.

of his parents and benefactors.⁴⁴⁸ However Wymbysh also made a more general bequest for the support of scholars unknown to him personally: he bequeathed 100s each for ten suitable chaplains, chosen by his executors, who had studied and graduated at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, but had not yet been promoted to a benefice.⁴⁴⁹ John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) asked that the residue of his goods should be used for the exhibition of poor scholars at Oxford.⁴⁵⁰ The York residentiaries also regarded the patronage of talented young scholars as worthy objectives, for example Martin Colyns, treasurer, made a legacy of six marks per year for seven years to sustain a poor and deserving scholar at Oxford or Cambridge.⁴⁵¹ This patronage of education was clearly seen as worthwhile by those who had received the benefit of a university education themselves.

Cathedral close residents graduating from universities

It has been possible to identify cathedral close clergy, who were graduates of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by using Alfred Emden's *Biographical Registers* of the Universities. Barrie Dobson praised Emden's diligence in searching the published and unpublished sources for records of university scholars.⁴⁵² However in spite of Emden's best efforts, taking Oxford as an example, the 14,922 alumni up to 1500 in Emden's register constitute only a fraction of actual alumni, perhaps only a fifth or a quarter of the true number.⁴⁵³ Other inhabitants of the cathedral close community may have attended both of the English universities and not graduated, as many clergy did, but there is evidence in Emden's registers and the wills surviving to attest that thirteen of the higher clergy who served the cathedral in the late fifteenth century graduated from either Oxford or Cambridge. The majority of these clergy had attained the

⁴⁴⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r.

⁴⁴⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r. For more on this see Robert Swanson's discussion of the fifteenth-century benefice crisis: R. Swanson, 'Universities, graduates and benefices in later medieval England', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985), 28-61.

⁴⁵⁰ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87v.

⁴⁵¹ Dobson, 'The residentiary canons of York', 160.

⁴⁵² R. B. Dobson, 'Recent prosopographical research in late medieval English history: university graduates, Durham monks and York canons' in N. Bulst and J. Genêt (eds.) *Medieval lives and the historian, studies in medieval prosopography* (Kalamazoo, 1986), 186.

⁴⁵³ T. Aston, 'Oxford's medieval alumni', *Past and Present* 74 (1977), 5.

position of dignitary in the cathedral at the point of their death. This statement is also true for the canons of Exeter Cathedral; where a degree was more characteristic of those who became dignitaries.⁴⁵⁴

As is evident from the following analysis (see Table 12), seven of the clergy attended Cambridge, five attended Oxford and Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) attended both: he completed his Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Theology at Oxford in the 1460s and 1470s before graduating as a Doctor of Theology from Cambridge in 1504-5.⁴⁵⁵ This fits in with wider graduate trends, as Cambridge was more centrally placed for the diocese of Lincoln (even though it was outside of it) than Oxford. Fifteen per cent of the medieval alumni for Cambridge originated from the diocese compared with eleven per cent of the alumni of Oxford.⁴⁵⁶ In contrast to the Lincoln residentiaries, the majority of Exeter canons attended Oxford university.⁴⁵⁷ The dates that the clergy from this sample attended the universities ranged from the early 1400s until the early sixteenth century. Although the evidence suggests that only two of the clergy, Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) and Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) shared the membership of New College whilst at Oxford (although they attended the university during different decades), there might have been periods of overlap when members of the clergy might have attended a particular university at the same time. For example, Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) and Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) were studying law and John Beverley (prebendary of Caistor 1454-1473) was studying theology at Cambridge in the 1420s, and in the 1460s and 1470s Edmund Hanson

⁴⁵⁴ Lepine, 'Origins', 101.

⁴⁵⁵ *BRUC*, 528.

⁴⁵⁶ T. Aston, G. Duncan and T. Evans 'The medieval alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present* 86 (1980), 33.

⁴⁵⁷ Lepine, 'Origins', 103.

Table 12: University graduates living in Lincoln Cathedral close c1450-1500

Name	Status	Role	University(ies)	College(s)	Degree(s) attained	Dates attended
Simon Stallworth	HC	S	O	Unknown	MA	Before 1479
Edmund Hanson	HC	P	C	Michaelhouse?	MA	Quest. 1464
					B. Th	B. Th 1471-2
					D. Th	D. Th 1488
Geoffrey Simeon	HC	D	O and C	New College	BA(O)	New College 1466
					MA (O)	BA 1471
					B. Th (O)	D. Th 1504-5
					D. Th (C)	
William Skelton	HC	T	C	Michaelhouse	MA	MA 1456-7
					B. Th	B. Th by 1472
					D. Th	D. Th by 1496
Robert Mason	HC	P	O	New College	B. C.L	New college scholar adm 1436
					D. C.L	B. C. L by 1444
						D. C. L by 1449
						BA – had studied canon and civil
John Crosby	HC	T	O	University College	B. Cn & C.L	law for 5 or 6 years by 1432
					D.C.L	B. Cn & C.L by 1448

(precentor 1506-1512) and William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) were also both reading for theology degrees at Cambridge. At Oxford, John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) and Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) were both studying law in the 1430s.

The range of subjects studied by the cathedral close clergy reveals the individual interests of the clergy in their fields of study. By looking at the highest qualification attained by each member of the clergy it is possible to build up a picture of their areas of specialism. There was one doctor of medicine, two doctors of canon law, two licentiates of canon law, two doctors of civil law, four doctors of theology, one master of arts and one, Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461), whose qualifications are not recorded. However, there is good evidence to suggest that Wymbysh studied law. Wymbysh, along with another clerical lawyer, John Baysham, are recorded as taking a prominent part in the process through which Lincoln College, Oxford, acquired its site of Deep Hall, in the parish of St Mildred's, Oxford, by acting as co-feoffees.⁴⁵⁸ In addition to this, in his will Nicholas bequeathed a register and a book of statutes to his nephew Thomas.⁴⁵⁹

The canon lawyers all studied at Cambridge; the doctors of canon law, Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) and John Tilney (prebendary of St Martin in Dernestall 1459-1474) studied at Peterhouse and Clare Hall colleges respectively, whereas the colleges of the two licentiates of canon law, Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) Robert Wymbych (subdean 1471-1478) are unknown. The two doctors of civil law studied at Oxford, Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) at New College and John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) at University College. Law had a reputation as a lucrative profession and law students followed the most certain path to future financial security.⁴⁶⁰ An academic training in civil law would have been useful for ambitious clerics hoping to prove themselves useful to their bishops or the monarch.⁴⁶¹ By the fifteenth century, a degree in civil or

⁴⁵⁸ V. Green, *The commonwealth of Lincoln College 1427-1977* (Oxford, 1979), 8-9.

⁴⁵⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v.

⁴⁶⁰ Courtenay, *Schools*, 40.

⁴⁶¹ J. Barton, 'The study of civil law before 1380' in J. Catto (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 1: the early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), 522.

canon law had come to supersede a qualification in theology as a prerequisite for a successful career in ecclesiastical administration or secular government.⁴⁶²

All of the doctors of theology studied at Cambridge and theology was primarily studied through the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.⁴⁶³ At Cambridge, in the late fourteenth century, theology was the largest faculty.⁴⁶⁴ Robert Holcot OP wrote his *Postillae super librum Sapientiae* whilst teaching in Cambridge in the fourteenth century and this scriptural commentary, which was influenced by the theology of Thomas Aquinas, was popular amongst Cambridge readers, including William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501), who bequeathed his own personal copy of this work back to Michaelhouse College, Cambridge.⁴⁶⁵ The statutes of the Cambridge faculty of theology required experience in three areas for a doctorate: lectures (attended and given), disputations acted in, and sermons preached.⁴⁶⁶ Theological studies were regarded as the longest and most difficult of all the faculties.⁴⁶⁷ In the Oxford colleges, in all but two of the ten colleges founded between the late thirteenth century and 1500, theology was the dominant subject studied.⁴⁶⁸ John Edderston (prebendary of Leighton Manor 1427-1455) was the only doctor of medicine, and studied at Balliol College, Oxford, a college which supported medical studies among their fellowships.⁴⁶⁹ Medicine was a poorly represented subject at Oxford with a total of only 157 recorded degrees in the subject over the medieval period.⁴⁷⁰ One of the most extensively used works in medical studies was Avicenna's *Canon medicinae*, and Edderston bequeathed a manuscript copy of this to Lincoln Cathedral Library in 1454.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶² J. Lander, *Conflict and stability in fifteenth-century England* (London, 1969), 125; E. Jacobs, 'On the promotion of English university clerks during the later middle ages', *JEH*, 1/2 (1950), 183.

⁴⁶³ D. Leader, *A history of the University of Cambridge, volume 1: the university to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988), 170.

⁴⁶⁴ Aston, Duncan and Evans, 'Alumni of Cambridge', 61.

⁴⁶⁵ Leader, *Cambridge*, 186; LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14v.

⁴⁶⁶ Leader, *Cambridge*, 174.

⁴⁶⁷ Courtenay, *Schools*, 41.

⁴⁶⁸ Aston, 'Oxford's medieval alumni', 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Courtenay, *Schools*, 37.

⁴⁷⁰ Aston, 'Oxford's medieval alumni', 10.

⁴⁷¹ F. Getz, 'The faculty of medicine before 1500' in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 373; See MS 183 in R. Thomson, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral chapter library* (Woodbridge, 1989), 147.

Lepine analysed the subjects of the academic qualifications of the Exeter canons (residentiary and non-residentiary) and dignitaries for the first half of the fifteenth century and he found that four studied for a BA or MA, fourteen studied for a Licentiate or Bachelor degree in Canon and/or Civil law, one studied for a Licentiate or Bachelor degree in Theology, none studied for a Bachelor degree in medicine, four studied for a doctorate in medicine, 25 studied for a theology doctorate and 46 studied for a doctorate in canon and/or civil law.⁴⁷² He found that theologians were a small group among the chapter but that they were particularly linked to the chancellorship of the cathedral, as this was an office that required a lecturer in theology or canon law.⁴⁷³ The subject of law predominated among the doctorates of the Exeter canons, as it did among all degrees.⁴⁷⁴ Lepine also analysed the subjects of the academic qualification of all Lincoln canons (residentiary and non-residentiary) 1300-1541 and this sample from Lincoln Cathedral close appears to fit in with wider trends for the later medieval period. Law was clearly the dominant subject, with 358 Lincoln canons taking degrees in canon and/or civil law, 153 taking degrees in theology and only fifteen taking degrees in medicine.⁴⁷⁵

The relationship between the cathedral close clergy and their universities has already been intimated throughout this chapter. The clergy not only made provision for future scholars at their former universities but these institutions and their colleges were the beneficiaries of many of their valuable manuscripts and printed books. There were other bequests that signified the esteem with which cathedral close clergy held their former educational institutions. Common gifts were useful and valuable equipment for the celebration of Mass. Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) bequeathed 100 marks and a set of red vestments for feast days to the chapel of New College, Oxford.⁴⁷⁶ William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) gave to Michaelhouse College, Cambridge, a shallow silver gilt *pecia* with a cover.⁴⁷⁷ John Edderston (prebendary of Leighton Manor 1427-1455) bequeathed a silver gilt *pecia* with four lions at the base to Balliol College,

⁴⁷² Lepine, 'Origins', 102.

⁴⁷³ Lepine, 'Origins', 103.

⁴⁷⁴ Lepine, 'Origins', 103.

⁴⁷⁵ *BCSG*, 61.

⁴⁷⁶ *BRUO3*, 1703.

⁴⁷⁷ *BRUC*, 530.

Oxford.⁴⁷⁸ John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) bequeathed to Lincoln College, Oxford, a book containing the whole of canon law with two commentaries by Pope Innocent IV.⁴⁷⁹ Crosby also bequeathed £30 to Queen's College as well as a yearly payment of £10 to be distributed amongst the scholars and fellows of the college to observe his obit. He also bequeathed some law books to Lincoln College and 100 marks for the provision of a canon law fellow.⁴⁸⁰ These gifts emphasise Crosby's desire to further the study of his own subject, canon law, at his former university.

Patronage and connections

Graduate bishops tended to appoint graduates to the benefices in their gift.⁴⁸¹ As the number of graduate bishops increased, an 'old-boy' network developed among graduates, with academic bishops deliberately promoting graduates from their own university and college to benefices in their gift.⁴⁸² An example of this can be seen at York: all five canons admitted to residence between 1482 and 1500 were Cambridge graduates and in several of these cases, they owed their promotion to Archbishop Thomas Rotherham, himself a Cambridge graduate.⁴⁸³ Connections often developed between those who shared mutual educational backgrounds. John Russell (Bishop of Lincoln 1480-1494) was originally from the parish of St Peter Cheeshill, Winchester and became a fellow of Winchester College; he was admitted in 1443 and took a statutory oath in 1444.⁴⁸⁴ Russell was admitted as a scholar of New College, Oxford, 1447.⁴⁸⁵ William Wykeham (Bishop of Winchester 1366-1404), founder of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, was clearly admired by Russell, who adopted the two chevrons from Wykeham's coat of arms between three roses as his own coat of arms when he became a bishop in 1476.⁴⁸⁶ Strong personal ties of loyalty were formed in

⁴⁷⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 37v.

⁴⁷⁹ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87v.

⁴⁸⁰ BRUO1, 517.

⁴⁸¹ Evans, 'Careers of scholars', 533.

⁴⁸² Swanson, 'Universities', 53.

⁴⁸³ Dobson, 'The residentiary canons of York', 158; J. Taylor, 'The diocese of York and the university connexion, 1300-1520', *Northern History* 25 (1989), 40-41.

⁴⁸⁴ BRUO3, 1609.

⁴⁸⁵ BRUO3, 1609.

⁴⁸⁶ J. Buxton and P. Williams, *New College Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford, 1979), 10.

New College, and it had become custom that episcopal Wykehamists readily patronised their former colleagues.⁴⁸⁷ Russell appointed his fellow Winchester College and New College graduates Robert Mason as precentor and Geoffrey Simeon as chancellor in the 1480s.⁴⁸⁸ Other graduates of New College that Russell appointed in his chapter at Lincoln included Henry Aynesworth, who was installed as prebendary of Haydour-cum-Walton on 30 August 1483, and Richard Mayew and Nicholas Mayhew who were appointed archdeacon of Oxford and prebendary of Crackpole St Mary respectively in 1493.⁴⁸⁹ Simeon in particular found much common ground with Russell: Simeon was made a canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1491 which was the official chapel of the Order of the Garter and Russell had been presented with the insignia of the Garter at Ghent in 1470, so Simeon and Russell were further linked through this.⁴⁹⁰ John Russell's relationship with his college fellows is indicated in his will. Although Mason had died by the time Russell made his will, he included Simeon as one of his executors and made a bequest to him of £10.⁴⁹¹

Friendships clearly developed between university students and this is also evidenced in the wills of the cathedral close testators. Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) left his 'venerable brother and faithful friend' William Portar in charge of distributing the largest monetary bequests in his will - £40 for his nephew Richard Smyth and £40 to his nephew John London – as well as £5 for himself and Simeon's best breviary.⁴⁹² William Portar was also a fellow of New College, Oxford, both Simeon and Portar were admitted in 1468.⁴⁹³ Portar was senior proctor of Oxford two years after Simeon in 1481.⁴⁹⁴ Simeon once again paved the way for Portar, as Simeon became a residentiary canon and then chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral in 1485 and Portar was made a non-residentiary

⁴⁸⁷ Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 25.

⁴⁸⁸ *FL1*, 3; 21; 24.

⁴⁸⁹ *FL1*, 69; 14; 57.

⁴⁹⁰ A. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, ' "Chevalerie...in som partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in some part to ben amendid": chivalry and the Yorkist kings' in C. Richmond and E. Scarff (eds.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the late middle ages* (Windsor, 2001), 129.

⁴⁹¹ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 15v-16v.

⁴⁹² TNA Prob/11/16, fo. 26v.

⁴⁹³ *BRUO3*, 1503; 1702.

⁴⁹⁴ *BRUO3*, 1503.

canon of Lincoln in 1489.⁴⁹⁵ Simeon was rector of Colerne, Wiltshire until his death in 1508 and Portar was admitted as rector immediately afterwards.⁴⁹⁶ This seems to suggest that these two clergymen forged a lifelong friendship following their time at New College as contemporaries.

William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) also had a close relationship to Simeon. He requested that Simeon should be not only an executor, but supervisor of his will and bequeathed a gilted piece for sweet wines to Simeon if he was still chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral at the time of Skelton's death.⁴⁹⁷ It seems plausible that Skelton and Simeon would have been studying in Cambridge at the same time, as Skelton was a Doctor of Theology by 1496 and Simeon achieved the same qualification by 1504/05.⁴⁹⁸ Skelton also had a connection to Dr John Yonge, who was executor of Simeon's will, he bequeathed to Yonge 6s 8d for seven years, if he was living in England, to pray for Skelton and all whom he was bound to pray for.⁴⁹⁹ Yonge received his qualification as Doctor of Theology at Oxford in 1504 so these three clergymen clearly had a common theological interests and aptitude.⁵⁰⁰ Edmund Hanson (precentor 1506-1512) trusted his fellow Cambridge graduate Henry Hornby with his books after his death. Hanson was studying at Cambridge University between 1467 and 1488. This overlapped with Hornby's time at Cambridge between 1478/79 and 1494/95 so it seems reasonable to assume that they met there.⁵⁰¹ They also had shared interests in Lincolnshire. Hornby was Master of the collegiate church of Tattershall 1502-1508 before Hanson took over this office until his death in 1511.⁵⁰² These examples suggest the existence of networks developed from connections established at university through shared interests and experiences.

⁴⁹⁵ BRUO3, 1503; 1702.

⁴⁹⁶ BRUO3, 1503; 1702.

⁴⁹⁷ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 15r.

⁴⁹⁸ BRUC, 530; 528.

⁴⁹⁹ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 13r.

⁵⁰⁰ BRUO3, 2135.

⁵⁰¹ BRUC, 285; 313.

⁵⁰² BRUC, 285; 313.

Careers of the Lincoln Cathedral close clergy

The success of a canon's career can be measured by the number of benefices they held. The most prominent held several canonries and rectories from which they would have derived a considerable income.⁵⁰³ The careers of all of the clergy from this evidence can be outlined using the information from Emden to show what they did before they became residentiary canons at Lincoln Cathedral. Three clergy, William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501), John Beverley (prebendary of Caistor 1454-1473) and John Tilney (prebendary of St Martin in Dernestall 1459-1474) became canons of Lincoln Cathedral immediately following their studies at university.⁵⁰⁴ Two of the close residents, Simon Stallworth (subdean 1488-1511) and John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477), held one rectory each before they became canons and Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) held one rectory, the wardenship of St Leonard's hospital and was a canon of Chichester Cathedral.⁵⁰⁵ Another two close residents, Edmund Hanson (precentor 1506-1512) and Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) held two rectories each before they became canons at Lincoln and Robert Wymbych (subdean 1471-1478) held two rectories and was a canon of Southwell collegiate church.⁵⁰⁶ John Edderston (prebendary of Leighton Manor 1427-1455) held three rectories before he became a canon at Lincoln and Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) held five rectories and was a canon of Abergwili collegiate church.⁵⁰⁷ Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) held seven rectories; he was warden of St Nicholas' hospital in Richmond 1437-1439 and a canon at Salisbury Cathedral.⁵⁰⁸ Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) had a suitably interesting career before beginning at the cathedral. He was archdeacon of Northumberland by 1455, rector of Richmond in Yorkshire and he was made prebendary of Norton, diocese of Durham, in 1471.⁵⁰⁹ However, in September 1471, after his appointment, Mason was imprisoned by John Neville, marquis of Montagu, to try

⁵⁰³ *BCSG*, 72; Swanson and Lepine, 'Later middle ages', 60.

⁵⁰⁴ *BRUC*, 530, 60, 59.

⁵⁰⁵ *BRUO3*, 1753; *BRUO1*, 517; *BRUO3*, 2120-2121.

⁵⁰⁶ *BRUC*, 285, 528, 659.

⁵⁰⁷ *BRUO1*, 624; *BRUC*, 461.

⁵⁰⁸ *BRUC*, 26.

⁵⁰⁹ *BRUO2*, 1240.

and make him surrender his canonry in favour of Neville's chaplain.⁵¹⁰ Mason was subsequently reinstated and an enquiry was ordered by the Pope.⁵¹¹ He was appointed as a special commissioner to treat with Scottish commissioners on 24 August 1473 and was then, in 1474, made rector of Gateshead, in the diocese of Durham, before being admitted as a canon of Lincoln in 1478.⁵¹² Many of the canons entered residence at the cathedral when they were middle-aged and ready to retire from active royal or diocesan administration.⁵¹³

Some of the cathedral close graduates held important positions in episcopal, noble or royal service throughout their careers. This fits in with the career structure followed by canons at other secular cathedrals. The future residentiary canons of fifteenth-century York Minster can be traced in the service of monarchs and bishops in the episcopal records and royal governmental records for approximately fifteen years before they became resident at the Minster.⁵¹⁴ At Hereford, about two-thirds of canons were experienced administrators in the service of either the crown or the Church by the time they received their prebends at the cathedral.⁵¹⁵ Canons tended to hold the more senior posts in episcopal households and diocesan administration.⁵¹⁶ John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) was a judicial commissary of Bishop Alnwick (Bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449) in 1448.⁵¹⁷ This was an important role; as a commissary judge Crosby would have dealt with routine judicial business, acting on behalf of the bishop, throughout the diocese.⁵¹⁸

Until well into the fifteenth century, royal government was largely staffed by clergy; as they were the most readily available source of the literate and able men necessary to run it.⁵¹⁹ Lepine noted that between 1300 and 1541, 40 per cent of Lincoln Cathedral chapter were engaged in royal service. This seems to have been

⁵¹⁰ J. Twemlow, *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters 1471-1484, volume XIII, part I* (London, 1955), 307.

⁵¹¹ BRUO2, 1241; Twemlow, *Papal letters 1471-1484, part I*, 307.

⁵¹² BRUO2, 1240-1241.

⁵¹³ BCSG, 105.

⁵¹⁴ Dobson, 'Recent prosopographical research', 94.

⁵¹⁵ Swanson and Lepine, 'Later middle ages', 59.

⁵¹⁶ BCSG, 80.

⁵¹⁷ BRUO1, 517; Hamilton Thompson, *The English*, 232-233 and 239-240.

⁵¹⁸ J. Brundage, *The medieval origins of the legal profession* (London, 2008), 460.

⁵¹⁹ BCSG, 83.

about the average for late medieval English chapters.⁵²⁰ However royal service was declining during this period of study, as Lepine pointed out that 70 per cent of canons in royal service were appointed before 1450 and only 29 per cent afterwards; this corresponds with evidence of increasing numbers of laymen involved in royal government.⁵²¹ It is unclear how members of the clergy entered royal service. However, most clergy serving in government held offices in Westminster. Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) held the position of king's clerk, at least for the period 1437-1439, prior to his appointment as subdean of Lincoln in 1458.⁵²² Ayscogh was most probably a clerk of the chapel royal, so would have officiated at religious services and given instruction in grammar and music to members of the royal household.⁵²³ In recognition of his service as king's clerk, Ayscogh was granted the wardenship of the hospital of St Nicholas, near Richmond in 1437.⁵²⁴

Simon Stallworth (subdean 1488-1511) was also privy to royal affairs: in June 1483 there is evidence of two letters that he sent from London, partly in obedience to Bishop Russell, Lord Chancellor, to Sir William Stonor containing significant details about the crisis in government immediately prior to the usurpation of Richard III.⁵²⁵ Although a canon of Lincoln from 1481, he became subdean in 1488, a position he held until his death.⁵²⁶ Whilst holding this position at Lincoln, he was appointed canon and prebendary of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster from 1505 until his death and he was also clerk of the hanaper of the chancery between 1505 and 1507.⁵²⁷ The second position was particularly prestigious, as in effect Stallworth was the treasurer of the chancery, responsible in the main for registering and receiving the fees for all patents, commissions and grants passed under the Great Seal.⁵²⁸ He had his own office in the palace of Westminster and a lucrative salary; this position had become recognised in the

⁵²⁰ *BCSG*, 83.

⁵²¹ *BCSG*, 84.

⁵²² *CPR 1436-1441*, 51; *BRUC*, 27.

⁵²³ C. Given-Wilson, *The royal household and the king's affinity: service, politics and finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986), 67.

⁵²⁴ *CPR 1436-1441*, 51, 314.

⁵²⁵ C. Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor letters and papers 1290-1483* (Cambridge, 1996), 159-161.

⁵²⁶ *BRUO3*, 1753.

⁵²⁷ *BRUO3*, 1753.

⁵²⁸ M. Giuseppi, *Guide to the contents of the public record office, volume I, legal records, etc.* (London, 1963), 9.

later middle ages as being suitable for a candidate seeking high preferment in ecclesiastical or political circles.

Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) also had royal connections: although he held the position of chancellor of Lincoln from 1485 until 1506 when he became dean of Lincoln, he was made dean of the chapel royal in 1491 until his death, which meant that he held a key position as the primary ecclesiastical official in the Royal Court.⁵²⁹ The dean was the principal and head of the chapel; he conducted services there on the principal feasts but he was also intimately involved with the religious lives of the royal family.⁵³⁰ There is evidence that payments were made from the privy purse of Elizabeth of York to Simeon for the Queen's offerings on a variety of saints' days.⁵³¹ Simeon was also president of Henry VII's Council in 1503. This Council functioned as an advisory, administrative and judicial body and its members were involved in all types of royal business whether domestic, foreign, private or public.⁵³² Members of the Council were regularly responsible for particular tasks. Simeon was involved in directing bills to members of the 'council learned in the law' for the Court of Requests, which was mainly concerned with government prosecutions and acted almost as a royal debt-collecting agency.⁵³³ The dean of the chapel royal was clearly an important position and the fact that all other holders of the post during the reign of Henry VII were promoted to a bishopric suggests that, had Simeon not died in office, he too would have become a bishop.⁵³⁴ Simeon also became a canon of St Paul's Cathedral in 1494 and a canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor 1501 - 1508.⁵³⁵ This secular college was established to pray for the well-being of the king, his progenitors and successors and became the official chapel of the chivalrous order the Order of the Garter.⁵³⁶ The chapel at Windsor was a royal peculiar and it was

⁵²⁹ BRUO3, 1702.

⁵³⁰ F. Kilby, *The royal household chapel in early-Tudor London, 1485-1547* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), 77-78.

⁵³¹ Kilby, *Royal*, 78.

⁵³² Kilby, *Royal*, 80.

⁵³³ Kilby, *Royal*, 81.

⁵³⁴ Kilby, *Royal*, 76.

⁵³⁵ BRUC, 528; S. Ollard, *Fasti Wyndesorienses: the deans and canons of Windsor* (Windsor, 1950), 74.

⁵³⁶ N. Saul, 'Servants of God and crown: the canons of St George's Chapel, 1348-1420' in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the fourteenth century* (Woodbridge, 2005), 97.

the king's preference to appoint as canons those who were in his favour.⁵³⁷ Simeon's position as canon at Windsor, as well as his deanship of the chapel royal, indicates that he must have been on good terms with Henry VII. In the Memorials of Henry VII, Simeon is described by Bernard André, official poet and historian of Henry VII, as: 'Theologorum decus et unicum humanitatis erga pauperes asylum'.⁵³⁸

Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) was one of the three or four advocates practising at the Court of Canterbury in 1443. This was one of two prerogative courts (the other was at York), and this was a court through which the discretionary powers, privileges and legal immunities reserved to the sovereign were exercised. This position would have equated with a modern day solicitor or barrister, as advocates or proctors represented litigants in court and Prowett was bound to 'work faithfully and honestly for [his] clients; not to undertake knowingly desperate or wicked causes...[and] not to disturb or infringe wittingly the liberties of the Church'.⁵³⁹ Prowett was also appointed the commissary general of Canterbury, so he would have presided over the courts as commissary general of the official of the court of Canterbury from 1443 until 1448.⁵⁴⁰ He was the royal commissioner in appeal cases in 1443 and in 1448 he was made the commissary general of London.⁵⁴¹ As commissary general, Prowett would have acted as an ex-officio judge in the London consistory court, which exercised jurisdiction over matrimonial and probate matters.⁵⁴² This was a position which would only have been offered to more experienced canons, and after finishing his work as commissary general he became precentor of Lincoln Cathedral in 1448.⁵⁴³ Nicholas Wymbysh became a canon of Lincoln Cathedral in 1426 and yet remained a clerk of the chancery, a post he had held between 1391 and 1451.⁵⁴⁴ He was one of the clerks who answered to the king's chancellor, a

⁵³⁷ Saul, 'Servants', 98.

⁵³⁸ BRUC, 528: 'Glory of theologians and only refuge of humanity in relation to the poor'.

⁵³⁹ I. Churchill, *Canterbury administration: the administrative machinery of the archbishopric of Canterbury illustrated from original records, volume 1* (London, 1933), 450-451.

⁵⁴⁰ BRUC, 462; R. Storey, *Diocesan administration in fifteenth-century England*, 2nd edn (York, 1981), 22; Churchill, *Canterbury administration*, 442-446.

⁵⁴¹ BRUC, 462.

⁵⁴² F. Pederson, *Marriage disputes in medieval England* (London, 2000), 12.

⁵⁴³ BCSG, 84; BRUC, 461.

⁵⁴⁴ BRUC, 2120-2121.

principal minister of state, responsible for many administrative and judicial duties including the issue of writs and charters sealed with the Great Seal.⁵⁴⁵ Wymbysh was clearly a valuable asset to a series of monarchs and this is reflected in his receipt of a royal licence. As a result of his good service to Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI at his coronation, he obtained royal licence to give lands and rents yearly to the value of £20 to Nocton Park Priory in 1449.⁵⁴⁶ The wide ranging career paths taken by the cathedral close testators discussed above provides evidence of the different options available to clergy after university, and how patrons rewarded those in their service.

The cathedral close clergy for whom there is evidence of university attendance and graduation clearly valued the education that they received, and saw it as a key part of their identity throughout their adult lives. This is reflected in the substantial gifts bequeathed to honour and support their former educational institutions and also through the generous patronage of future scholars included in their wills. It appears that their university experiences were transformative, providing opportunities to expand their minds and develop interests that might affect their future career development, but also to network and develop links with other scholars. These opportunities would not have been available through any other type of experience. These relationships that developed between college fellows could be particularly important for career advancement, as the patronage connections between Bishop John Russell and his fellow New College graduates Robert Mason and Geoffrey Simeon attest. The majority of the cathedral close clergy studied either canon or civil law and this reflected contemporary changes. By the fifteenth century law was the subject that was most likely to precipitate advancement, in both secular and ecclesiastical career paths. Some cathedral close graduates were extremely ambitious and climbed their way up the ladder of success, most notably Geoffrey Simeon, whose patronage connections, particularly through service to Henry VII, helped him to reach a particularly prestigious position before his untimely death.

⁵⁴⁵ T. Tout, *Chapters in the administrative history of mediaeval England, the wardrobe, the chamber and the small seals, volume 1* (Manchester, 1920), 15-16.

⁵⁴⁶ BRUO3, 2121.

Cultural interests of Cathedral close inhabitants

Looking at the qualifications attained and positions gained throughout their careers can only tell us so much about some of these cathedral close inhabitants. This evidence alone might suggest that these men were purely administrators; in the words of Lepine, discussing the projected image of canons at Hereford, canons appeared to be 'successful, worldly, wealthy, ambitious and sometimes ruthless careerists'.⁵⁴⁷ The reality is that these canons would have been more complex and rounded men than their biographies suggest. In order to delve further into the personalities of the close inhabitants, we can learn more about their cultural and intellectual interests through examining the books that they owned and bequeathed at the end of their lives.

It is possible to glean evidence of book ownership from bequests made in last wills and testaments. Unfortunately there are several problems with using wills in order to provide evidence of book ownership. It is unlikely that the quantities of books named in the wills represent the true extent of book ownership; the nature of a will as a means of transmitting a testator's more important possessions means it might have been the case that mainly valuable and good quality editions of books were mentioned in wills, with humbler volumes and booklets being disposed of in other ways not considered worth recording.⁵⁴⁸ In addition, because wills were made at the end of life, it is impossible to learn about changes in patterns of book ownership of testators throughout earlier periods.⁵⁴⁹ Scholars have commented on the misleadingly low impression of the number of books owned by testators at the point of death.⁵⁵⁰ This problem is highlighted by the example of Richard de Gravesend (Bishop of London 1280-1303), who bequeathed a large collection of 98 volumes, mainly of theology and canon law,

⁵⁴⁷ Lepine, '“A long way”', 179.

⁵⁴⁸ J. Stratford and T. Webber, 'Bishops and kings: private book collections in medieval England' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland, volume 1: to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), 180; Friedman, *Northern*, 1.

⁵⁴⁹ Stratford and Webber, 'Bishops', 179.

⁵⁵⁰ H. Plomer, 'Books mentioned in wills', *The Library* 3rd series/7 (1902-1904), 99-121; J. Rosenthal, 'Clerical book bequests: *a vade mecum*, but whence and whither?' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and learning*, 327-343; Stratford and Webber, 'Bishops', 179-183.

recorded in an inventory drawn up for his executors.⁵⁵¹ In contrast, his will only mentioned a book on loan and two of his finest books: a set of decretals and a multi-volume bible.⁵⁵² Regrettably, inventories have not survived for the goods of any of the Lincoln Cathedral close inhabitants and so we are unable to see how far this disparity between books owned and books mentioned in wills would have extended.

Nevertheless, the figures provide a rough guide to numbers bequeathed in wills. It is, of course, not certain that ownership of a book meant that the owner had read the work,⁵⁵³ but it seems reasonable to assume that book owners acquired books that fitted into their general sphere of interest, perhaps books that would have been useful in their profession and reflective of their wider attitudes and values. Conversely, Joel Rosenthal warns against reading too much into book bequests as 'windows of clerical learning and culture'.⁵⁵⁴ He advises that factors such as the size of the collection, the recipient, the type of book and the governing structure of the will as a document should be taken into account when assessing these bequests.⁵⁵⁵ One should also be careful to not place too much weight on negative evidence. For example, a theology graduate might not mention ownership of any theological books in his will because he had already distributed them in his lifetime. The comments that follow refer to works that are mentioned in testamentary bequests or from information in Alfred Emden's *Biographical registers of Oxford and Cambridge*. The figures for the following section refer to the number of works named and not to the number of volumes that these works encompassed. The figures only refer to named books and do not take into account other books referred to in bulk but not numerically specified.

There is evidence that 24 of the cathedral close testators owned at least one book, just less than a third of the total number of testators, and these testators owned a minimum of 74 books between them. This is a significantly larger

⁵⁵¹ Stratford and Webber, 'Bishops', 189.

⁵⁵² Stratford and Webber, 'Bishops', 189.

⁵⁵³ See R. Chartier, 'Culture as appropriation: popular cultural uses in early modern France' in S. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding popular culture: Europe from the middle ages to the nineteenth century* (Berlin, 1984), 241.

⁵⁵⁴ Rosenthal, 'Clerical', 328.

⁵⁵⁵ Rosenthal, 'Clerical', 337.

proportion of testators making book bequests than testators from the city of Norwich over a slightly shorter period. Norman Tanner examined 525 wills and inventories between 1440 and 1489 for evidence of book ownership and out of this number, 29 testators mentioned at least one book.⁵⁵⁶ Some of these books were named volumes; these can be seen in Table 13. John Friedman's significantly larger study of 15,000 medieval wills in the York Probate Registry indicated that 942 or 28 per cent made reference to book ownership so the Lincoln figures are not too far astray from these proportions.⁵⁵⁷ All of these testators were members of the clergy; not a single layperson is recorded as owning a book. This is unusual, as other studies of late medieval wills indicate a proportion of lay book bequests within their samples.⁵⁵⁸ Table 14 indicates the roles held by the cathedral close testators who owned books: fifteen were members of the higher clergy and nine were lower clergy. Several clerical testators referred to other books, for example Edmund Hanson (precentor 1506-1512). Although the nature or number of books are not discussed in more detail, Hanson's books were left in the charge of his fellow Cambridge graduate Dr Henry Hornby, who bequeathed them in his will to St John's College library.⁵⁵⁹ It is clear from Table 15 that the inhabitants of the close do not appear to have been scholar collectors, possessing great libraries with hundreds of volumes.⁵⁶⁰ Most of the testators bequeathed a single book and the majority a couple of books; only five testators bequeathed more than five books each.

⁵⁵⁶ N. Tanner, *The church in late medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984), 193.

⁵⁵⁷ Friedman, *Northern*, 3-4. Although it is worth pointing out that Friedman does not make the lay/clerical composition of his sample clear, so it is difficult to say how comparable these figures are.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, see: Friedman, *Northern*, 10-26. Friedman indicates that 74 legacies were made by women, as well as an additional thirteen legacies from women who wanted to buy or repair a book for a church, but he does not mention the number of legacies made by laymen. See also: J. Rosenthal, 'Aristocratic cultural patronage and book bequests, 1350-1500', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 64 (1982), 536. Rosenthal examined the wills of peers summoned to Parliament 1350-1500 and the wills of their wives. Out of 165 wills for the peers there were 30 book bequests and out of 86 wills for the peers' wives there were 41 book bequests. It should be noted that this sample of wills is focused on a particularly wealthy and privileged section of society and by extension members of this group would be more likely to own books.

⁵⁵⁹ BRUC, 285. See also the entry for Henry Hornby: BRUC, 313-314.

⁵⁶⁰ For more information about scholarly book collections see J. Roberts, 'Extending the frontiers: scholar collections' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland: volume 1 to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), 292.

Table 13: Named books owned by cathedral close testators				
Name	Status	Book(s)	Source	Categories
John Edderston	Pb Leighton Manor	Avicenna, <i>Medica</i>	CMLCCL, 133	M
William Knight	Cp	<i>Avatru puerorum?</i>	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 110r	U
Robert Ayscogh	S	John of Burgh, <i>Pupilla oculi</i>	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r	Pg
John Beverley	Pb Caistor	Hugh of Vienne, Biblical commentary; Albert Magnus, <i>De naturis rerum</i> ; Ptolomy, <i>De compositione astrolabi</i> ;	BRUC, 60	Bc, Np, A, Bc, Bc; Pg
		Nicholas Gorran, <i>Super epistolas Pauli</i> ; John Lathbury, <i>Super threnos 'cum bona tabula'</i> ; Pierre Bersuire, <i>Reductorium morale</i>		
John Crosby	T	<i>Lylly</i>	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87v	U
Robert Wymbych	S	John Pecham, <i>Ignorancia sacerdotum</i> ; Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summula sacramentorum</i> ; <i>Liber constitutionum provincialium</i> ;	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 90v	Pg, Cn. L.
		Hugo of Pisa, <i>Summa in Decretum Gratiani</i>		
Robert Mason	P	Albrecht von Eyb, <i>Margarita Poetica</i>	BRUO2, 1241	H
John Collinson	Ad Northampton	Augustine of Hippo, <i>Sermones dominicales</i> ; John Beleth, <i>Legendam sanctorum</i> ; Matthew Paris, <i>Flores historiarum</i> ;	TNA/Prob/11/7, fo. 34r	Pg, SL, Chr, L&R.
		Giles of Rome, <i>De Regimine Principum</i>		

Name	Status	Book(s)	Source	Categories
William Skelton	T	Alexander Carpenter, <i>Destructorium viciorum</i> ; Robert Holcot, <i>Lectiones super librum Sapientiae</i> ; Johannes Nider, Unspecified work; Peter of Aquila, <i>Quaestiones super libros</i> <i>Sententiarum</i> ; Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> ;	LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14v	Tr, Bc, Th, Bc, Th, Th, Bc, Pg, Pg
		Peter the Lombard, <i>Sententiarum libri quatuor</i> ; Thürk?, <i>Postille</i> ; Ludolph of Saxony, <i>Speculum Vitae Christi</i> ; Ulrich Putsch, <i>Lumen anime</i>		
William Docking	Cp	John Beleth, <i>Legenda sanctorum</i>	LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 21r	SL
Simon Stallworth	S	John Annius, <i>Glosa super Apocalipsim de statu ecclesie</i> ; George of Hungary, <i>Tractatus de moribus Turcorum</i> ; Laudivius Zacchia, <i>Epistolae magni Turci</i> .	BRUO3, 1753	Bc, TL, TL.
John Castell	Cp of Works Chantry	Raymond of Penafort, <i>Summula sacramentorum</i>	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 107v	Cn. L.
Key				
Pb = Prebendary	M = Medicine	Cn L = Canon Law		
Cp = Chaplain	U = Unknown	Pg = Priest guidance/instruction/sermons		
S = Subdean	H = Humanist	SL = Saints' Lives		
T = Treasurer	Tr = Treatise	Bc - Biblical commentary		
P = Precentor	Chr = Chronicle	L&R = Logic and Rhetoric		
Ad = Archdeacon	A = Astronomy	Np = Natural philosophy		
Th = Theology	TL = Turkish Life			
CMLCCL = R. Woolley, <i>Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral chapter library</i> (Oxford, 1927).				
BRUO2-3 = A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, vols 2-3</i> (Oxford, 1958-1959)				
BRUC = A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963)				

Table 14: Roles of cathedral close book owners	
Status of book owner	Number of book owners
Residentiary canon	6
Precentor	3
Chancellor	1
Treasurer	2
Subdean	3
Vicar choral	3
Chaplain	6

Table 15: Numbers of books owned by cathedral close testators	
Number of books owned	Number of testators
1	7
2	6
3	2
4	2
5	1
6	1
7	2
8	0
9	0
10	0
15+	1

The books may have been retained from university studies for future reference; candidates for higher degrees in canon and civil law and theology were required to own copies of the prescribed texts.⁵⁶¹ Alternatively, these books might have been intentional purchases or bequests that they had received from friends and patrons.

Nonetheless, Table 16 indicates the range of books bequeathed which reveals more about the particular interests of the close inhabitants. The majority of books mentioned directly related to church services, such as breviaries, which contained the liturgical rites for celebrating the divine office, missals, which

⁵⁶¹ M. Parkes, 'The Provision of Books' in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 407.

contained the instructions and texts necessary for the celebration of Mass, and procession books which contained the rituals observed during a religious procession. This is not surprising as the clergy would have used these books to perform services. This fits in with wider trends, as Jo Moran’s study of the diocese of York from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century found that service books composed almost half of all books mentioned by testators.⁵⁶²

Table 16: Categories of books owned by cathedral close testators	
Category/Type of book	Number of books owned
Astronomy	1
Bible	3
Biblical commentary	5
Breviary (Unspecified)	6
Breviary (Lincoln Use)	2
Canon Law	9
Chronicle	1
Collectarium	1
Concordance	1
Humanist	1
Logic and rhetoric	1
Medicine	1
Missal (Unspecified)	4
Missal (Sarum Use)	2
Missal (Lincoln Use)	1
Natural philosophy	1
Prayer book	1
Priest guidance/instruction/sermons	9
Procession book	6
Psalter (Unspecified)	2
Psalter (Sarum Use)	1
Saints’ Lives	3
Stations of the Cross	1
Theology	6
Treatise	1
Turkish life	2
Unknown	2

⁵⁶² J. Moran, *The growth of English schooling 1340-1548: learning, literacy, and laicization in pre-reformation York diocese* (Princeton, 1985), 196-199.

John Friedman's analysis of published Yorkshire wills, within a shorter time frame, 1369 to 1497, also indicates that the largest class of legacies was for service and devotional books.⁵⁶³ In Lincoln the largest group of clergy bequeathing this type of book were chantry chaplains and vicars choral, such as William Ingham (chaplain), who bequeathed a missal of Lincoln Use to St Bavon's church, Lincoln and a psalter to John Carter.⁵⁶⁴ Bequests of liturgical books would have directly enriched the religious practice of the recipients and were an important way of passing on the basic tools of the trade, so to speak, to their successors. However, the category containing the largest number of books was the category of books providing guidance or pious instruction to priests, particularly for preaching. It is not surprising that these books would have been plentiful, as Lincoln Cathedral had a particularly extensive program of sermons from the twelfth century onwards, requiring weekly sermons each Sunday and on six major feasts.⁵⁶⁵ Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) bequeathed a copy of John of Burgh's *Pupilla oculi omnibus presbyteris*, a popular and influential work of pastoral theology for late medieval priests, to his kinsman, for his instruction, should he decide to become a priest.⁵⁶⁶ Robert Wymbych (subdean 1471-1478) donated to the church of Halton a copy of *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, written by thirteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham.⁵⁶⁷ This work consisted of constitutions collected from the Lambeth Council in 1281, instructing the clergy how to educate their congregations in the essentials of the Catholic faith.⁵⁶⁸ Again, these types of books would have been given for the purpose of the recipient's edification and could also have been used to improve the quality of their education of the laity.

⁵⁶³ J. Friedman, 'Books, owners and makers in fifteenth-century Yorkshire: the evidence from some wills and extant manuscripts' in A. Minnis (ed.), *Latin and vernacular, studies in late-medieval texts and manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), 114-115; See also agreement from Henry Plomer in Plomer, 'Books', 102 and Edward Meek in E. Meek, 'Printing and the English parish clergy in the later middle ages', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11/2 (1997), 114.

⁵⁶⁴ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 7v.

⁵⁶⁵ *HS*, 118.

⁵⁶⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r; Friedman, 'Books', 115; J. Goering, 'Burgh, John (fl. 1370-1398)' in *ODNB*, 783.

⁵⁶⁷ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 90v.

⁵⁶⁸ B. Thompson, 'Pecham, John (c.1230-1292)' in *ODNB*, 366.

More interesting are some of the larger collections of books from university graduates. William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) was a fellow of Michaelhouse College, Cambridge, in the 1450s and 1560s and he continued to study throughout his career, emerging as a Doctor of Theology by 1496.⁵⁶⁹ Skelton bequeathed sixteen named books in total. Ten of these were given to his college of Michaelhouse. The books bequeathed reflect his theological training and his particular theological interests. Skelton's collection included the works of scholastic philosophy and theological authorities such as Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologica* and the *Sententiarum libri quatuor* of Peter the Lombard, as well as popular biblical commentaries such as Robert Holcot's *Lectiones super librum sapientiae*.⁵⁷⁰ Skelton also owned a copy of Ludolph of Saxony's *Speculum vitae Christi*, an augmented version of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, which was probably composed by John de Caulibus, and comprises a series of devotions arranged according to the gospel narrative of the life of Christ.⁵⁷¹ This reflects Skelton's interest in popular late medieval European devotional trends as Ludolph's erudite *Speculum* was not as popular in England as other imaginative devotional works such as Nicholas Love's, *The mirror of the blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.⁵⁷² Skelton had clearly built up a substantial library of books as in addition to the named books, he also left certain books to be chained in the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, certain books to his kinsman John Merles and 60s worth of books to be sold in London - a sizeable amount as near contemporary stationers in Oxford and York were selling Latin books for less than a shilling.⁵⁷³ Skelton's library could compare with that of other academics at the time, such as William Melton, chancellor of York Minster who died in 1528 leaving over 100 named books in his will.⁵⁷⁴ Skelton's bequest of books including scholastic texts written by important European theologians suggests a desire to share with other aspiring theology scholars the knowledge which he spent his life building on. His book bequests identify his

⁵⁶⁹ BRUC, 530.

⁵⁷⁰ D. Bell, 'Monastic libraries: 1400-1557' in L. Hellenga and J. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain, volume 3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), 237-240; J. Swanson, 'Holcot, Robert (c.1290-1349)' in ODNB, 596.

⁵⁷¹ M. Sargent (ed.), *Nicholas Love's mirror of the blessed life of Jesus Christ* (London, 1992), ix-xv.

⁵⁷² Sargent, *Mirror*, xxv-xxvi.

⁵⁷³ C. Cross, 'York clergy and their books in the early sixteenth century' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson: proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2002), 345.

⁵⁷⁴ Cross, 'York clergy', 345.

religious priorities as a learned and scholarly dignitary who wanted to explore key contributions to his field of education.

Other cathedral close graduates demonstrated interests in contemporary educational trends. The mid-fifteenth century saw the advent of humanist texts in England. The humanist movement originated in Italian universities. Humanists based their studies in grammar and rhetoric, and the poetry, history and ethical writings of classical Antiquity.⁵⁷⁵ The humanist influence spread throughout the fifteenth century. Robert Flemming (dean 1452-1483), followed humanist teachings and at some point after 1446 travelled to Ferrara to be instructed directly in humanist studies by the renowned teacher Guarino of Verona.⁵⁷⁶ Flemming was an important promoter of humanism in England and gifted his library of humanist texts to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1465, a library that has been described, after Bishop Gray's (Bishop of Lincoln 1431-1436) collection, as 'the most important collection assembled by an Englishman in the fifteenth century'.⁵⁷⁷ Some of Flemming's fellow canons at Lincoln also had humanistic leanings. Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) donated to New College, Oxford, in 1479, a manuscript copy of the German humanist Albrecht von Eyb's *Margarita poetica*, a popular manual of classical rhetoric, which was copied from the edition printed at Rome in 1475 and was perhaps copied by Mason himself, as the hand does not appear professional.⁵⁷⁸

Those who supported the humanist style of learning from the cathedral chapter would have found a kindred spirit in John Russell (Bishop of Lincoln 1480-1494), who was a keen advocate of humanism and a supporter of scholarly learning.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ J. Trapp, 'The humanist book' in L. Hellenga and J. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (Cambridge, 1999), 285; E. Leedham-Green, 'University libraries and book-sellers' in L. Hellenga and J. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain* (Cambridge, 1999), 321.

⁵⁷⁶ Trapp, 'The humanist', 298.

⁵⁷⁷ R. Masek, 'The humanistic interests of the early Tudor episcopate', *American Society of Church History*, 39/1 (1970), 5; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the fifteenth century*, (3rd edn., London, 1967), 103.

⁵⁷⁸ Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 29.

⁵⁷⁹ See Masek, 'Humanistic interests', 6 - Russell is named in a list of members of the early Tudor episcopate who were important in the transmission of humanism in England.

He was chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1483 until his death.⁵⁸⁰ Russell also possessed a particular loyalty to his own college and made a gift of 105 print manuscripts and printed books to New College in 1482, and in a letter of thanks, the writer speaks of Russell's great love for the college, which, although well known before, was made plain when he made the gift which was described as 'hidden treasures of learned men and so eagerly awaited for the increase and adornment of the study of the best science'.⁵⁸¹ Unfortunately no list of the gift was entered and only ten manuscripts and five printed books can be identified but they were all works suggesting an interest in humanistic learning, such as manuscripts of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*, Plutarch's poem *Bucolicum carmen* and printed books including the works of Vergil and a selection of Plutarch's *Lives* in Latin translation.⁵⁸² Russell went on various diplomatic missions in Europe throughout his career, which would have brought him into contact with new styles of learning; this is reflected in his book bequests.⁵⁸³

Another intellectual scholar who was active in Lincoln Cathedral close in the fifteenth century was Peter Partriche (chancellor 1424-1451). Partriche donated three books to Lincoln Cathedral Library: *Thomas Aquinas, Prima secundae* (MS 37), *Augustinus de civitate Dei, etc* (MS 72) and a manuscript of Richard Snettisham's *Abbreviato* of Fr. Robert Cowton on the *Sentences* and *questiones quodlibetales* by John Duns Scotus (British Library, Royal MS 11.B.i), all of which were heavily annotated.⁵⁸⁴ He was also an identifiable user of Lincoln Cathedral Library; his annotations in eleven other books reveal an interest in the Church Fathers.⁵⁸⁵ In addition, for several of these books, Partriche drew up tables, made indexes and he actually transcribed part of MS 72 himself.⁵⁸⁶ Partriche is also known to have transcribed copies of two of Bishop Robert Grosseteste's (Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253) scientific treatises; this would have been an unusual venture for a canon into this field.⁵⁸⁷ It is a matter of speculation how much of this work was

⁵⁸⁰ BRUO3, 1609.

⁵⁸¹ Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 328.

⁵⁸² Buxton and Williams, *New College*, 328-329.

⁵⁸³ J. Thomson, 'Russell, John (c.1430-1494)' in *ODNB*, 276.

⁵⁸⁴ Thomson, *Catalogue*, 52, 26, xix.

⁵⁸⁵ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xix - the annotated manuscripts are MSS 4, 16, 33, 35, 37, 90, 138, 145, 154, 161.

⁵⁸⁶ Thomson, *Catalogue*, 52.

⁵⁸⁷ BRUO3, 1430; BCSG, 163.

carried out during his time at Lincoln. Some of the annotations might have been done throughout the course of his studies at Oxford but it is possible he may have continued during his residence at Lincoln.⁵⁸⁸

There is also evidence that the cathedral close testators' book collections reflected contemporary concerns and issues. Simon Stallworth (subdean 1488-1511), a graduate of Oxford, owned a book which he donated to the University library (now the Bodleian, Ashmole 529). This comprised three works which had been bound together: the commentary on the book of the Revelation by Italian Dominican John Annius, *De futuris Christianorum triumphis in Saracenos, seu glossa super apocalypsim* (Louvain, c.1481), Laudivius Zacchia's *Epistolae magni Turci* (Cologne, c.1480) and George of Hungary's, *Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (Urach, c.1480-1).⁵⁸⁹ Annius' commentary labelled the prophet Mohammed as the Antichrist, citing the works of learned men such as Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra to support his argument. Annius claimed that the Christians would recover all the lands they had lost to the Turks; his prophecies were made using the Book of Revelation and supported by astrological considerations.⁵⁹⁰ Zacchia's *Epistolae* contain letters which were spuriously attributed to Mehmed II and the rhetorical manoeuvring in the letter is complex, but Mehmed's claim to Macedonian authority would have been understood by the contemporary reader to signal his grandiose delusions.⁵⁹¹ Hungary's *Tractatus* is the most important fifteenth-century document of life and customs in Turkey written by a Christian observer.⁵⁹² Public opinion of the Turks was generally negative following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as Europeans felt threatened by their political existence, but were also afraid of the challenge that Islam posed to Christianity.⁵⁹³ In the text, George of Hungary cannot hide his admiration of the Turks in his descriptions of the superiority of Muslim customs and their successful military

⁵⁸⁸ BCSG, 163-164.

⁵⁸⁹ BRUO3, 1753 ex inform the late Dr David Rogers; A. Coates et al, *A catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Bodleian library, volume 1* (Oxford, 2005), 180-181.

⁵⁹⁰ K. Setton, *Western hostility to Islam and prophecies of Turkish doom* (Philadelphia, 1992), 18.

⁵⁹¹ M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought* (Harvard, 2008), 228-229.

⁵⁹² J. Palmer, 'Fr. Georgius de Hungaria, O.P., and the *Tractatus de moribus condicionibus et nequitia Turcorum*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 34 (1951), 44.

⁵⁹³ A. Classen, 'The world of the Turks described by an eye-witness: Georgius de Hungaria's dialectical discourse on the foreign world of the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 7/3 (2003), 262.

operations. However, the main purpose of this work appears to be the denigration of the Turks, as he accuses them of only possessing this status because of their alliance with the devil by following the religion of Islam.⁵⁹⁴ He warns Christians against the seductive exemplarity of the Muslims and the perils of apostasy.⁵⁹⁵ The text was first published in 1480, at the time of the Ottoman invasion of Italy at Otranto.⁵⁹⁶ Stallworth's copy of the work was a first edition; the publication of the text at this time was most probably intended to rouse the feelings of Christians in view of the 'Turkish menace'.⁵⁹⁷ There were numerous editions printed of the *Tractatus* between 1480 and 1550, suggesting that it was a popular work throughout Europe. It appears that the seemingly unstoppable military advances of the Ottomans were a matter of concern in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵⁹⁸

It could be the case that books were just seen by testators as another material bequest.⁵⁹⁹ However the evidence that follows does indicate that the testators used their books and that they considered these books to be personal and valued items. There is no evidence that Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460) attended either Oxford or Cambridge University, however the fact that he bequeathed to the library of Lincoln Cathedral all his books on canon and civil law to be chained at his own expense suggests that he did study canon law.⁶⁰⁰ Five of the law books from his collection are still in Lincoln Cathedral Library today: *Gregorii decretales et Innocentii novellae glossa* (LCL MS 3), *Decretales Gregorii IX glossa* (LCL MS 29, fos. 201-220), *Casus decretalium* (LCL MS 63), *Decretales Gregorii IX glossa* (LCL MS 136) and *Liber sextus decretalium*, (LCL MS 198). The physical evidence of Salisbury's books suggests that they were important possessions as he marked out his ownership on the last page of each of the books (an example of Salisbury's addition of his name can be seen in Appendix 7: Image 1: 'Iste liber

⁵⁹⁴ N. Berend, 'Violence as identity: Christians and Muslims in Hungary in the medieval and early modern period', *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013), 5.

⁵⁹⁵ S. Williams, '“Cronica der Türckey” Sebastian Franck's Translation of the “Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequitia Turcorum” by Georgius de Hungaria' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1991), 17.

⁵⁹⁶ Williams, '“Cronica”', 17.

⁵⁹⁷ BRUO3, 1753; Palmer, 'Fr. Georgius', 56.

⁵⁹⁸ Palmer, 'Fr. Georgius', 59; Classen, 'World', 258.

⁵⁹⁹ Rosenthal, 'Clerical', 339-340.

⁶⁰⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 85v.

constat Thome Salysbury’).⁶⁰¹ These books were clearly well used reference materials as some of the pages are heavily annotated in the same hand which suggests that the annotations were made by Salisbury himself (Appendix 7: Image 2 provides an example of Salisbury’s annotations).⁶⁰² Other testators give detailed descriptions of certain books, for example Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) bequeathed a small breviary in red cloth with a red cover, John Watson (chaplain of Robert Flemming’s chantry 1483-1502), bequeathed a prayer book covered with russet damask and William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) bequeathed a fair Mass book of Sarum Use.⁶⁰³ Descriptions of books such as this suggest a level of familiarity and pride in ownership.⁶⁰⁴ These descriptions certainly seem to have the intention of singling out a particular book as an important and valued object in its own right.

It is possible that there were books in the cathedral library that were donated by members of the close but their ownership was not clearly marked out, and as a result their donation was not officially recognised. A manuscript in the cathedral library catalogue entitled *Comestor, Augustinus, Wyclif* (MS 159) contains the writings of Peter Comestor, St Augustine but also interestingly John Wyclif’s *De ente* and *De tempore*.⁶⁰⁵ Wyclif’s ideas on the reality of universals and the double nature of time were quite original and based on ancient authorities such as St Augustine, St Anselm and Robert Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253) and would have provided much food for thought for those with theological interests.⁶⁰⁶ Although it is not certain who donated this volume, next to the listing of this book in the fifteenth-century catalogue, in a faded and almost illegible hand is written ‘...libri...cathena...remanent...domini Nicholai Wymbisshe’.⁶⁰⁷ Despite there being no definite proof that Nicholas Wymbysh owned this

⁶⁰¹ LCL MS 136, volume II, 220. The MS belonging to Salisbury was formerly bound as part of MS 29 and is categorised as such in Thomson, *Catalogue*, 21-22.

⁶⁰² LCL MS 198, fo. 21v.

⁶⁰³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r; LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 50v; LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14v.

⁶⁰⁴ Rosenthal, ‘Clerical’, 339.

⁶⁰⁵ Thomson, *Catalogue*, 128-129.

⁶⁰⁶ J. Catto, ‘Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356-1430’ in J. Catto and T. Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford, volume 2: Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 192.

⁶⁰⁷ R. Woolley, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral chapter library* (Oxford, 1927), xiv.

manuscript it suggests in the fifteenth century there was interest in writings following the tradition of philosophical realism of Grosseteste.⁶⁰⁸

As discussed above, the books owned by the clergy close inhabitants would not have been the only books available for their use - they would have had access to the cathedral's book collection in the new library which had been constructed above the northern range of the cloister by 1422.⁶⁰⁹ There are two catalogues surviving for the cathedral's medieval book collection: an inventory of the cathedral's books copied onto the front flyleaf of the Chapter Bible c.1160 and part of an indenture made in or soon after 1454 listing the books chained in the new library building, both of which have been transcribed by Reginald Woolley.⁶¹⁰ The twelfth-century catalogue lists 136 books yet by 1454 there were only 109 items chained in the library, although the chained books were most probably not the only ones belonging to the cathedral.⁶¹¹ In an early fifteenth-century chapter act book there is an undated and untitled list of books, probably copied c.1410-1411, consisting of 31 items, mostly biblical glosses and only one of these is identifiable as LCL MS 77 which suggests that perhaps these books also belonged to the cathedral.⁶¹² Nevertheless, the book collection had not significantly expanded over a period of 300 years. Approximately 40 of the books in the fifteenth century catalogue had been noted in the earlier catalogue, so almost half of the books had been replaced.⁶¹³ Rodney Thompson, author of a catalogue of the cathedral manuscripts published in the 1980s, commented that the process of loss and replacement of books appeared 'random and accidental' and the books contained in the chained library were 'neither up-to-date, comprehensive or adventurous'.⁶¹⁴ This seems to be true; the books are primarily standard biblical commentaries and commentaries on works of canon law.⁶¹⁵ This is in accordance with law book ownership by the higher clergy of Exeter cathedral in the fifteenth century, and signifies the involvement of many canons

⁶⁰⁸ F. Cross and E. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1997), 1769.

⁶⁰⁹ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xvii.

⁶¹⁰ LCL MS 1 and LCL MS 295; Woolley, *Catalogue*, v-xiv.

⁶¹¹ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xiii-xvii.

⁶¹² LCL D&C A/2/30, fo. 9v; Thomson, *Catalogue*, xviii.

⁶¹³ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xviii.

⁶¹⁴ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xviii.

⁶¹⁵ Woolley, *Catalogue*, x-xiv.

in the administration of the cathedral and diocese.⁶¹⁶ Table 17 shows the categories of beneficiaries of book bequests from this sample. The number of bequests to institutions is slightly higher, 23, as opposed to 21 bequests to individuals. The lower clergy tended to bequeath books to parish churches or individuals whereas the higher clergy were more likely to make bequests to the university that they graduated from or to individuals. The cathedral library was clearly not the first choice for the book donations of educated clergy wanting to make their books accessible to a scholarly readership. As mentioned earlier, noted intellectuals associated with Lincoln Cathedral in the late fifteenth century, such as Robert Flemming, donated his entire library to Lincoln College, Oxford.⁶¹⁷

Table 17: Beneficiaries of book bequests from cathedral close book owners	
Beneficiary	Number of bequests
Individual	21
Lincoln Cathedral Library	2
House of choristers	1
Parish church	10
Collegiate church	2
Convent	1
University college library	5
University common library	2

The ownership of books from the cathedral close clergy suggests an interest in improving themselves as clergy. The majority of books owned were manuals of guidance and pious instruction to help them to educate the laity, as well as service books to help them fulfil their priestly obligations. Yet some of the higher clergy who had attended university had wider ranging interests, perhaps stimulated by their course of study. Certain individuals' personal book collections reveal wider intellectual and cultural interests, such as William Skelton's theological preferences, Robert Mason's humanist influences and the appeal of learning about Byzantium for Simon Stallworth. There does not seem to have been a group of scholar-canons living in Lincoln Cathedral close, as there was in

⁶¹⁶ Lepine, 'Education', 277-278.

⁶¹⁷ Thomson, *Catalogue*, xviii.

Hereford Cathedral close in the mid-fifteenth century.⁶¹⁸ Fifteenth-century Lincoln Cathedral close was also devoid of what Compton Reeves has termed creative scholars – scholars who engaged in the discovery of new information or new ways of looking at existing information.⁶¹⁹ The contents of the fifteenth century cathedral library seem to support the argument that the cathedral close was not the focus of organised intellectual activity at this time.

However, as indicated above, this does not mean that there were not intellectuals present in the close in the fifteenth century. For example, there is evidence that scholars such as Peter Partriche lived there, who had a particular interest in the theology and science of former Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste. There were members of the clergy with scholarly interests in the close but the evidence indicates that the majority of these clergy preferred to bequeath their important and valuable books to their former universities, rather than to Lincoln Cathedral library, in recognition of their roles as important centres of learning. This was not uncommon; the York residentiaries in the fifteenth century were also more likely to leave most items from their substantial book collections to their Oxford or Cambridge colleges.⁶²⁰ There is evidence that the cathedral close clergy viewed their books as valued and well used possessions, but as Joel Rosenthal has highlighted, quite rightly, the complexity of analysing book bequests means that one has to be careful when generalising. Analysing book bequests is not straightforward and it is necessary to be aware of the context of each bequest in order to gain a more rounded impression of its importance.⁶²¹

Conclusion

This chapter has helped to clarify, as far as it is possible, who the people living in Lincoln Cathedral close 1450-1500 actually were. Unsurprisingly, the majority of close inhabitants at this time were clergy; mainly lower clergy, although there was

⁶¹⁸ For more information on the scholarly activities of John Castell, Richard Rotherham and Richard Rudhale, residentiary canons at Hereford Cathedral, see Lepine, ‘“A long way”’, 186-195.

⁶¹⁹ C. Reeves, ‘Creative scholarship in the cathedrals, 1300-1500’ in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The church and learning*, 165.

⁶²⁰ Dobson, ‘The residentiary canons of York’, 159.

⁶²¹ Rosenthal, ‘Clerical’, 341.

a reasonably significant lay presence. The laypeople were members of the urban gentry, employees of the Dean and Chapter, as well as local business owners and traders but still those who could be termed as being ranked among the 'middling sort' and above: prosperous, successful and relatively wealthy individuals. Some of these laypeople were also the family and kin of the cathedral clergy. It is not clear exactly why these laypeople were attracted to move into the close but it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that living in close proximity to Lincoln Cathedral, which enjoyed the prestige and powerful position of being the mother church of the diocese, was not an important consideration.

Since the building of the cathedral, the area surrounding it had been the place of residence of the urban gentry and more notable lay citizens of Lincoln, and there was a variety of standards of housing lying within the close, to suit a range of budgets, including some of the most prestigious houses that had been built in a style similar to those owned by lay magnates.⁶²² However, evidence for the fourteenth century suggests that the close was not a central locality for the residence of civic officials.⁶²³ This said, perhaps the types of laypeople interested in living in the close also had spiritual concerns and wanted to be as close as possible to this powerhouse of prayer and divine service.⁶²⁴ Leading on from this, the laypeople in the close would also have lived in close proximity to the most prominent and influential clergy in the diocese, the residentiary canons and dignitaries of Lincoln Cathedral. These were the most important clergy living in the close. Their position and role in chapter, as well as the wealth that they had accumulated meant that they would have been considered significant individuals in their own right. The majority of the close inhabitants were the lower clergy, and there were such a great number in comparison to other close residents because they would have been responsible for many of the actual services taking place within the cathedral. The presence of different statuses of clergy and laity suggests that the close was a heterogeneous community; perhaps less elite and restricted than one might have expected.

⁶²² See Chapter 1, 81-106.

⁶²³ See Kissane, *Identities*, chapter 1, especially, 57-69.

⁶²⁴ See Chapter 4, 275-281.

All of the close inhabitants had connections within the medieval diocese of Lincoln and about a third of the close inhabitants, mainly the lower clergy and lay business owners and traders, limited their interactions to the city of Lincoln. It is probable that many of these close inhabitants originated from Lincoln and the wider diocese. This can be contrasted with the higher clergy and urban gentry, whose education, career and social connections had brought them into contact with a wider geographical range of people and places. This suggests that one's sphere of influence was closely connected with one's wealth and status. Even still, the connections that the higher status close inhabitants espoused were not country wide, but mainly from the neighbouring dioceses such as York and London. The late fifteenth-century cathedral close was not a melting pot of different countries or even counties – it was mainly local people with local interests.

There is evidence that a small proportion of the close inhabitants, thirteen members of the higher clergy, attended either Oxford or Cambridge University; it is these individuals that we can learn the most about concerning their lives outside the close. The majority of the cathedral close graduates studied either civil or canon law, following contemporary trends that preferred law to theology as a subject that would positively influence one's career. It appears that a period of university study was a formative experience; so many of these close inhabitants retained and valued ties with their former institutions of higher education to the point of their deaths that it cannot be seen as otherwise. Some of the most valuable and generous bequests within the context of their wills were made to their former colleges. In addition, the role of a university in facilitating connections between scholars cannot be underestimated; not only friendships but patronage connections which shaped the direction of their future careers. Several of the close inhabitants, following their university training, held important positions in secular and ecclesiastical society. The example of Geoffrey Simeon's career also highlights the importance of patronage; his relationship with Henry VII resulted in his rising through the ranks of royal service.

The university graduates did not have a monopoly on learning; over a quarter of the close inhabitants owned at least one book, and these testators owned over 70

named books between them. All of the evidence of book ownership within the close was for members of the clergy. It is interesting that there was no indication of lay book ownership; however it is possible that this conclusion is a result of the nature of the testamentary evidence used, as not all possessions would have been recorded. The majority of the books were service books or those providing guidance for priests, which intimates that for the close inhabitants bequeathing these types of books, their role as a cleric was an important part of their identity and they were committed to improving their ministry and passing on this role to their successors. Many of the graduate book owners possessed volumes that related directly to their degrees. The evidence for book ownership offers an opportunity to see whether individuals had specific interests and to consider whether these interests reflected their university education, contemporary trends or simply personal interest. Although Lincoln Cathedral close was not a centre of learning worthy of comparison with a university or even some of the other secular cathedrals, there were some scholarly clerics living there in the fifteenth century who were engaged in intellectual pursuits.

Chapter 3: Kinship and social networks

The following chapter will outline the kinship connections and social networks of the inhabitants of the close. It begins by outlining the historiography of the study of kinship and social networks, as well as the related disciplines of friendship and family. Following this, the role of social sciences and anthropology in the study of social networks is considered. The main focus of the chapter is a series of case studies relating to the close inhabitants. The first of these is a study of the chapter 1450-1460, using the chapter acts to ascertain residence status for the higher clergy and attendance at chapter meetings for both higher and lower clergy. This expands into a discussion of relationships between chapter members using testamentary evidence, contextualised by analysing these bequests in comparison with other categories of people with whom the chapter had relationships. The second case study explores the similarities and differences between the networks, as expressed through testamentary bequests, of laywomen who lived in the close. The final case study considers the nature of networks of the lay male close testators, using evidence of testamentary bequests.

The study of kinship and social networks, friendship and family units

The medieval concept of family and kinship was complex and diverse; Will Coster has rightly pointed out that there is an inaccurate assumption among historians that the family, as an entity, was universal, definable and therefore in most cases measurable.⁶²⁵ Coster suggests that most individuals belong to more than one 'family', the family of orientation is the family into which an individual is born and establishes their place in the social order; and if an individual establishes his own household, this becomes the family of procreation, which joins an individual to another set of relatives.⁶²⁶ Alan Macfarlane commented in 1970 that historians know very little about family life and kinship in pre-industrial England.⁶²⁷ However, since then there have been more studies of documents

⁶²⁵ W. Coster, *Family and kinship in England 1450-1800* (Harlow, 2001), 6

⁶²⁶ Coster, *Family and kinship*, 6.

⁶²⁷ A. Macfarlane, *The family life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970), 105.

such as charters, manorial court rolls and wills in order to attempt to trace specific relationships between persons. Zvi Razi has used the manorial court documents of Halesowen in Worcestershire to argue that, before the fifteenth century, a higher proportion of interactions were between kinsmen.⁶²⁸ It is also true that wills can be sensitive indicators of family awareness, giving insight into the kinship network of testators approaching death.⁶²⁹

Although wills do not reveal the full range of a testator's kin, they can be regarded as recognising those kin considered most important at a critical moment in the life cycle.⁶³⁰ Therefore, only those who had already fulfilled their obligations, such as grandparents and widows, or those who had no such responsibilities, such as members of the clergy and single testators, were likely to leave legacies to their wider kin network. Ciceley Howell's study of Leicestershire wills from the parish of Kibworth Harcourt has concluded that the important factor in determining bequests was the age and family responsibilities of the testator at the time their will was written.⁶³¹ Wrightson and Levine also found that kin recognition was narrow in range and shallow in depth from their study of wills from Terling.⁶³² Barbara Hanawalt argues against the importance of kinship relations; she suggests from her study of peasant families that kinship networks tended to be loose and only played a small role in the village's social structure. It was the nuclear family that was most important and the role of kin varied according to family preference and individual bonds of affection.⁶³³

The nature of friendship and social networks has been studied in the early medieval period through studies of letter collections.⁶³⁴ Research on the later

⁶²⁸ Z. Razi, *Life, marriage and death in a medieval parish: economy, society and demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980).

⁶²⁹ D. Cressy, 'Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England', *Past and Present*, 113 (1986), 53.

⁶³⁰ Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety*, 92.

⁶³¹ C. Howell, 'Peasant inheritance customs in the Midlands, 1280-1700' in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. Thompson (ed.), *Family inheritance: rural society in Western Europe 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 141.

⁶³² Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and piety*, 92-99.

⁶³³ B. Hanawalt, *The ties that bound: peasant families in medieval England*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), 84-89.

⁶³⁴ See M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: reading the letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997); J. Haseldine, 'Friendship, intimacy and corporate networking in the

medieval period by Colin Richmond and Nigel Saul has provided increasing evidence that vertical social links (the patron-client relationships) might have been less important in the lives of the fifteenth-century gentry than has been supposed.⁶³⁵ This has created interest in the horizontal social connections that, as Susan Wright has suggested, sustained gentry society.⁶³⁶ Philippa Maddern's study of the fifteenth-century Norfolk gentry showed that gentry families developed friendships through the services they carried out for one another, the kin-like continuity of their connections, the ties of spiritual kinship formed and the restricted geographical area within which they lived.⁶³⁷

The role of social sciences and anthropology

The study of social networks and kinship has progressed from the work of social anthropologists in the middle of the twentieth century who developed an interest in investigating the connections between individuals. A group of social anthropologists are often recognised for conducting some of the first fieldwork from which network analyses were performed.⁶³⁸ This style of network analysis focused on identifying patterns of interaction between individuals or kinship and friendship relationships rather than interactions within particular groups in society. The individuals with whom a person has a personal relationship form the first order zone, the individuals with whom those people have a relationship form the second order zone and so on.⁶³⁹ These ties are potential communication channels, used to carry transactions, which are defined as: 'an interaction between two actors that is governed by the principle that the value gained from the

twelfth century: the politics of friendship in the letters of Peter the Venerable', *English Historical Review* 126/519 (2011), 251-280.

⁶³⁵ C. Richmond, *John Hopton: a fifteenth century Suffolk gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981), 159-257; C. Richmond, *The Paston family in the fifteenth century: the first phase* (Cambridge, 1990); N. Saul, *Scenes from provincial life: knightly families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986), 28-72.

⁶³⁶ S. Wright, *The Derbyshire gentry in the fifteenth century* (Chesterfield, 1983), 53-55.

⁶³⁷ P. Maddern, '“Best trusted friends”: concepts and practices of friendship among fifteenth-century Norfolk gentry' in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the fifteenth century, proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1994), 112.

⁶³⁸ E. Bott, *Family and social network: roles, norms and external relationships in ordinary urban families* (Oxford, 1957); J. Barnes, 'Class and committees in a Norwegian island parish', *Human Relations*, 7 (1954) 39-58; J. Mitchell, *The Kalela dance: aspects of social relationships among urban Africans in northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1956).

⁶³⁹ The following description of social network analysis is based on Margaret Mullett's helpful summary of these ideas in Mullett, *Theophylact*, 164-165.

interaction must be equal or greater than the cost'.⁶⁴⁰ Examples of the types of transactions that might have occurred in the medieval period include nominating an individual as a feoffee, godparent, executor or witness to one's will. The transaction might be reciprocal, and the pattern of transactions could be viewed as a relation of exchange. The nature of these relationships can be explored; the assumption is that relations which are multiplex, where individuals meet in overlapping role relations, result in stronger relationships than a single-stranded relation.⁶⁴¹

The social network analysis paradigm has gained recognition as the theoretical basis for examining social structures. This has become scientific in its approach and developed appropriate methodologies and mathematical techniques to interpret data, allowing the diagrammatical representation of a network in graph form or 'sociogram' to be created. Much of the quantitative data that can be collected from analysis of medieval sources is not complete enough to be analysed using this complex approach. However, some of the theories developed by social anthropologists can be helpful for the study of the social relationships suggested by the medieval sources.

Mark Granovetter's seminal 1973 article 'The Strength of Weak Ties' provides some useful concepts for analysing personal relationships. Granovetter attempted to define the nature of relationships by identifying the 'strength' of an interpersonal tie as a combination between the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie.⁶⁴² This allows the type of relationship between two persons to be delineated as a 'strong' or 'weak' tie. Granovetter also suggested that if person A and person B have a relationship and person A and person C have a relationship, but person B and person C have no relationship, their common ties to person A are likely to bring them into interaction and generate one.⁶⁴³ This theory could explain how some 'weak' ties develop between friends of friends. Another important part of Granovetter's article was his discussion of network

⁶⁴⁰ J. Boissevain, *Friends of friends: networks, manipulators and coalitions* (Oxford, 1974), 25.

⁶⁴¹ Boissevain, *Friends*, 32.

⁶⁴² M. Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78/6 (1973), 1361.

⁶⁴³ Granovetter, 'Strength', 1362.

‘density’ He picks up on A. Epstein’s distinction between the ‘effective network’ of a person being those with whom one ‘interacts most intensely and most regularly, and who are therefore also likely to come to know one another’ and the ‘extended network’ of a person being the remainder of their friends.⁶⁴⁴ In Granovetter’s terms this means that ‘one’s strong ties form a dense network and one’s weak ties a less dense one’.⁶⁴⁵ These terms and theories, when applied to the evidence for the following case studies, will provide a structure for identifying the nature of personal relationships evidenced by the wills and a means for evaluating the relative importance of these relationships. The strength of ties in this chapter are distinguished in part by analysis of bequests of money, generally the larger the amount of money bequeathed, the stronger the tie, and also the nature of items bequeathed sheds light on the value of a relationship. Another indicator of a strong tie used in this chapter is the nomination of a person as an executor.

Case study 1- Lincoln Cathedral chapter 1449/50 -1459/60

As has been discussed in chapter 1 in more detail, the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral met weekly, usually every Saturday in the chapter house, to discuss the business of the cathedral. At these meetings, much important business was conducted in the presence of the chapter or was confirmed by its members. At Lincoln, the chapter consisted of the dean, subdean, chancellor, precentor and treasurer, who were expected to be continually resident in the close, as well as the eight archdeacons and residentiary canons. Not all of the dignitaries, archdeacons and residentiary canons were expected to attend every meeting but the chapter accounts record lists of those who did and also the clerks and deputy officers, such as the sacrist, succentor and vice-chancellor, attending. This case study will survey the period 1450-1460; a period fully covered by the chapter acts. This period comprised eleven accounting years, since the accounting year for what is considered to be 1450 begins on the 14 September 1449 and runs until 13 September 1450.

⁶⁴⁴ A. Epstein, ‘The network and urban social organization’ in J. Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: analyses of personal relationships in central African towns* (New York, 1969), 110-111.

⁶⁴⁵ Granovetter, ‘Strength’, 1370.

The small group of clergy that formed the cathedral chapter provide a useful case study for analysis of strong and weak ties that developed within the close, as not only would these clerics have lived and worshipped together but they were also bound to meet regularly over a number of years. Surveying the actions and interactions of this group over this period gives an idea of the nature of chapter at this time: some names were a constant presence at meetings for the entire period, others moved between major, minor and non-residence, canons died and were replaced. Relationships would surely have developed as the group endeavoured to fulfil their commitment to cathedral business, and their relationships with those inside and outside the close would have been coloured by their responsibilities and roles as part of the governing body of the cathedral. The importance of regular contact as a factor in the strength of relationships that developed in the cathedral close will be examined through this case study.

In 1449/50 the dean was the notorious John Macworth, whose dispute with the rest of chapter had spanned much of the first half of the fifteenth century. He appeared to enjoy all of the privileges of being dean without caring for the responsibilities he had towards his chapter colleagues.⁶⁴⁶ Perhaps as a result of these problems Macworth was not resident in the close at this time.⁶⁴⁷ The chancellor was the aged Peter Partriche who from August 1450 had protested minor residence (residence in the close for up to one third of the year) on the grounds of old age and infirmity.⁶⁴⁸ Alexander Prowett had been precentor since 1448 and was a regular attendee at the chapter meetings for the rest of the decade.⁶⁴⁹ John Crosby, treasurer, was non-resident at this time.⁶⁵⁰ The subdean John Percy was non-resident and although he did not resign from this post until 9 May 1458, he is not mentioned as attending a single chapter meeting in this period.⁶⁵¹ The residentiary canons listed for 1449/50 were Thomas Loughborough who held the prebend of Dunham and Newport, but who was to

⁶⁴⁶ See Chapter 1 for the dispute between Macworth and the chapter, 43-44.

⁶⁴⁷ Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 in major and minor residence also those non-resident.

⁶⁴⁸ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 14r; LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 16v.

⁶⁴⁹ *FL1*, 20.

⁶⁵⁰ Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 in major and minor residence also those non-resident.

⁶⁵¹ Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 in major and minor residence also those non-resident; *FL1*, 5.

die the following year, John Edderston, prebendary of Liddington, Philip Tilney holding the prebend of St Botolph, Simon Alcock who held the prebend of Lafford, Thomas Salisbury, archdeacon of Bedford, and John Derby holding the prebend of North Kelsey.⁶⁵²

It is evident from Table 18 that throughout the period there was a core body of residentiary canons who were regularly present at the majority of chapter meetings. The chapter acts, written by the chapter clerk, were the only record of these chapter meetings. The Lincoln chapter acts were not always attentively recorded and as such, there are not records of every meeting which took place throughout the period. The acts seem more like informal notes than a carefully prepared record of chapter business.⁶⁵³ For the period 1449/50 to 1459/60 there are only records for a total of 152 meetings. As previously mentioned, Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) was a stalwart of the meetings, frequently standing in as president of the chapter for the absentee dean. He attended 113 out of the total number of recorded meetings; the largest number attended by any member of chapter in this period. After John Macworth's death, sometime before 15 May 1451, he was replaced as dean by Robert Flemming who was non-resident for the whole period and only attended nine chapter meetings.⁶⁵⁴ Hugh Tapton (chancellor 1451-1481), who replaced Peter Partriche following his death, and John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) were both resident in the close from January 1451/52 onwards and were regular attendees of the meetings.⁶⁵⁵ Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460) protested major residence in the close until 1456/57 when he protested minor residence until his death in 1460.⁶⁵⁶ John Beverley, prebendary of Aylesbury until 1454 and then of Caistor until 1473, and John Breton, prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465, entered major residence in the close from 1452/53 and 1453/54 respectively.⁶⁵⁷ Nicholas Wymbysh, prebendary of Ketton, moved from minor to major

⁶⁵² Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 in major and minor residence also those non-resident.

⁶⁵³ See Introduction, 25.

⁶⁵⁴ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 19v; see Robert Flemming in the lists of non-residentiary canons: Bj/2/16 fos 22r; 55r; 87r; 115r; 144r; 179r; 210r; 241r; 270r.

⁶⁵⁵ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 20v.

⁶⁵⁶ Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 and 1450/51 in major and minor residence also those non-resident; Bj/2/16, fos 22r; 55r; 87r; 115r; 144r; 179r; 210r; 241r; 270r.

⁶⁵⁷ *FL1*, 26, 49, 114.

residence in 1450/51 and remained there for six years, after which he protested minor residence until his death in 1460.⁶⁵⁸

Other residentiary canons played a less important role in affairs within the close because they had other commitments. John Derby was a visitor rather than a constant presence within the close over the period, as his role as a royal commissioner for appeal cases resulted in frequent absences from the close between 1439 and 1460.⁶⁵⁹ The absence of the dean, Robert Flemming, would have been more problematic as the dean was supposed to have been at the head of the chapter. Robert Flemming was the nephew of Richard Flemming, who had been Bishop of Lincoln 1419-1431 and his uncle's position in the Church had a strong bearing on his career.⁶⁶⁰ He was collated to the deanery of Lincoln in January 1452/53 but his theological and humanistic learning had caught the attention of the king and he had been made one of Henry VI's chaplains by February of the same year.⁶⁶¹ Flemming spent much of this decade in Rome as he was appointed as the king's proctor in the papal court in March 1454/55 but by August 1457 he had been commissioned as one of the king's orators and special envoys to the pope, a post he held until 1459.⁶⁶² This perhaps explains the annual election of a provost, first mentioned from February 1452/53, in order to help cope with the workload of the absentee dean.⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁸ Bj/2/15, unfoliated, List of canons 1449/50 and 1450/51 in major and minor residence also those non-resident; Bj/2/16, fos 22; 55; 87; 115; 144; 17; 210; 241; 270.

⁶⁵⁹ For example: *CPR 1446-1452*, 434, 537; *CPR 1452-1461*, 783.

⁶⁶⁰ R. Swanson, 'Flemming, Richard (d. 1431), Bishop of Lincoln' in *ODNB*, 78-80; C. Clough, 'Flemming, Robert (1416-1483)' in *ODNB*, 80-82.

⁶⁶¹ Clough, 'Flemming', 81.

⁶⁶² See *CPR 1446-1452*, 227, 336, 362, 424, 487.

⁶⁶³ The office of provost is mentioned in the chapter acts from 16th February 1452/53: LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 30v.

Table 18: Number of chapter meetings attended by residentiary canons 1449/50 - 1459/60

[illegible]

It was not just the residentiary canons who attended the chapter meetings, clerks in minor orders with certain responsibilities within the cathedral would also have been expected to attend, see Table 19. Richard Myles, clerk of the common chamber, was also noted as being present at many meetings throughout the decade as his role involved, among other things, auditing and distributing the commons payments and dealing with rents, which were often the subject of chapter business.⁶⁶⁴ The chapter clerk, John Pakyngton, can be assumed to have attended the majority of meetings in order to minute them, although he only officially noted his presence at the meetings fifteen times throughout the period. Philip Cokland, another clerk who was engaged in much of the financial business of the chapter was also present at a number of meetings over the period and after John Pakyngton's death, in 1479, he became chapter clerk.⁶⁶⁵ Robert Darcy, warden of the altar of St Peter, attended meetings, because in his role as the chapter's legal advisor he had a vested interest in much of their business. Some of the vicar deputies such as John Leek, who was sacrist 1426-1456, and William Burn, who was vice-chancellor 1450-1457, attended one-off meetings but were not regularly present to hear chapter business.⁶⁶⁶

The members of the chapter would not have encountered one another solely at the weekly chapter meetings; as has been discussed in chapter 1, the multiplicity of functions of Lincoln Cathedral relied on various networks of higher and lower clergy (as well as the laity employed by the cathedral) all working together to fulfil a variety of roles. The different roles of the dignitaries and residentiary canons would have brought them into contact with each other in a variety of ways. For example, Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) was responsible for organising the music and liturgy of the cathedral.

⁶⁶⁴ Myles clearly had an important role in chapter and was not only present at meetings concerning finances but also meetings concerned with other important business; for example he witnessed the failed compurgation of John Bett, former chantry chaplain in 1454 (LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 47v) and acted as proctor for the absentee dean Robert Flemming at the admission of a poor clerk in 1459 (LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 64r).

⁶⁶⁵ Major, 'Office', 175-176.

⁶⁶⁶ *V'COLC*, 79-80.

When a new canon initially protested major residence (and several canons attending chapter meetings did begin a period of major residence in this decade), he would have had to serve a strict probationary period attending all of the daily services. Additionally, residentiary canons were expected to continue attending most services after their probationary period and all residentiaries had to take turns once a quarter as hebdomadary canon and ruler of the choir for a week or a fortnight, so some chapter members would certainly have come into contact with the precentor and their fellow residentiaries several times a week at the very least. The chapter meetings would have been a regular point of contact for the residentiary canons and lower clergy involved but they would certainly not have been the only point of contact. There were opportunities for the chapter to encounter one another in both formal and informal settings.

The chapter acts for this period suggest that networks functioned well within the close and on the whole the chapter managed cathedral business to a high standard, electing from amongst themselves each year several of their number to positions of authority.⁶⁶⁷ There was only one dispute noted between the chapter in this period; the entry for 23 November 1458 indicates that there was a disagreement between Alexander Prowett and John Beverley (prebendary of Caistor 1454-1473) concerning the primary nomination of a chaplain to the chantry of the fabric. Their fellow residentiary canons Hugh Tapton (chancellor 1451-1481), John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477), Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) and John Breton (prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465) agreed to act as arbitrators in the dispute and Prowett and Beverley agreed to obey the decision of the arbitrators on pain of payment of £20 to the fabric.⁶⁶⁸ This was not resolved until the following May when it emerged that Prowett and Beverley had been removed from their offices of mastership of the fabric and Crosby had been appointed senior master of the fabric in their place. He also, by reason of this position, nominated Sir William, chaplain of Nicholas

⁶⁶⁷ See for example LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 25r: Alexander Prowett is chosen to collect the money from St Hugh's shrine in October 1452; LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 50r: in June 1455 Hugh Tapton and Thomas Salisbury were elected as auditors of the common fund; LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 64r: John Breton was appointed Master of the house of the Burghersh chantry in October 1459.

⁶⁶⁸ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 60v.

Wymbysh, to the chantry of the fabric.⁶⁶⁹ This suggests that the chapter were able to settle their disputes between themselves reasonably and that they respected one another's judgements.

But did the relationships formed between members of the chapter become more important than relationships in other areas of their lives? The source that provides much of our information about the relative value of kinship networks and relationships is testamentary evidence. It is difficult to make judgements such as this using the evidence from wills for many reasons, some of which have been mentioned before but some are particularly pertinent to this context. To begin with, it is not possible to know the grants that have been given and the arrangements that have been made for certain people throughout the testator's life which would also shed light on the significance of this relationship to the testator. In addition, wills by their nature do not always provide evidence of reciprocal relationships, as wills were usually made when death was near, and so the beneficiary of a testator's bequest would have been unable to signify their relationship to the testator through a reciprocal bequest in their own will because the original testator would most probably have already died. Another problem created by the juncture at which a testator made a will is that it only reflects the testator's considerations at that particular stage in their life cycle, and ties would have grown stronger or weaker and therefore more or less deserving of recognition in their will over time. Besides, people who had been particularly important in a testator's life might have already predeceased them, and therefore it is more difficult to recognise the value of these relationships compared with associations with surviving family and kin.

It is possible to trace whether the contacts made between members of the chapter 1450-1460 were significant by surveying the information in the surviving testamentary evidence to quantify the length and strength of these ties. Out of the 29 residentiary canons, vicars and clerks who were involved in chapter affairs to a greater or lesser degree over this period, there are wills surviving for fifteen of them, which provide a reasonable impression of what their relationship to the chapter was like at the time of their deaths. All fifteen testators mention at least

⁶⁶⁹ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 63v.

one other member of chapter in their will, for example as a beneficiary or an executor, suggesting a strong tie. Twelve out of the fifteen members of chapter, for whom wills survive, made a bequest to all residentiary canons, some with the stipulation that they should attend their funeral Mass. This was perhaps a customary obligation but there does not appear to have been a standard payment, leaving the testators with the choice of how much to bequeath. William Burn (vice-chancellor c.1450-1455), who attended chapter meetings infrequently, made provision of 16d for each residentiary canon at his obit, but John Breton (prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465) who played a larger role in chapter affairs, showed more generosity to his fellow residentiary canons leaving a bequest of 6s 8d and two silver spoons each.⁶⁷⁰

More specific trust relationships between members of the chapter are also apparent from surveying this selection of wills. When Alexander Prowett (precentor 1448-1471) made his will on 20 August 1470 he specified that he wanted to be buried near his fellow chapter member Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453), who had died by 8 November 1453 and had been buried in the nave of Lincoln Cathedral.⁶⁷¹ The link between Prowett and Tilney is further alluded to by Prowett's choice of John Tilney (prebendary of St Martin in Dernestall 1459-1474), most probably a relative or kinsman of Philip, as one of his executors.⁶⁷² This is an interesting example of how some strong ties that had flourished in the close could be commemorated after death and Prowett still considered this to be important almost twenty years following Tilney's death. Prowett appeared to have had close ties with the Leek family; he left a blood red coloured gown to Thomas Leek, his second best gown to Thomas' wife Alice Leek and 6s 8d to each of their children.⁶⁷³ Tilney also had a connection with the Leek family; he left a bequest of 13s 4d to John Leek (sacrist c.1426-1457).⁶⁷⁴ The fact that this bequest was larger than the other amounts of money left to cathedral clergy suggests that this was a strong tie. It is not possible to know how both Prowett and Tilney were connected to the Leek family but weak ties through mutual friends could have developed into stronger ties over time.

⁶⁷⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 44v; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 97r.

⁶⁷¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128v.

⁶⁷² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 129r.

⁶⁷³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128v.

⁶⁷⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 21v.

John Leek (sacrist c.1426-1457) included a Thomas Leek, quite possibly the Thomas Leek mentioned in Alexander Prowett's (precentor 1448-1471) will, as one of his executors and left him his best drinking bowl/cup with a cover, six silver spoons, a red garment and 13s 4d for his labour. This and the surname evidence strongly suggests that Thomas Leek was a relative and from a family also well known to Prowett and Tilney. Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453) also left another named bequest to another member of the chapter at this time, Thomas Walton (vicar choral and warden of the altar of St Peter).⁶⁷⁵ Walton did not appear to have developed strong ties within this group as he merely made token bequests to other members of the chapter, 12d each to chapter clerk and the clerk of the common.⁶⁷⁶ However, Tilney also highlighted another chapter connection in his will by making Hugh Tapton (chancellor 1451-1481), a key member of chapter, one of his executors, as did William Burn (vice-chancellor c.1450-1457) who made Tapton the supervisor of his will.⁶⁷⁷ Although we cannot comment on Tapton's relationships as his will is not extant, he was clearly considered reliable enough to supervise these testaments.

Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1461) attended a fair number of chapter meetings until his death but did not bond strongly with many of his fellow chapter aside from John Breton (prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham 1448-1465), whom he made his executor.⁶⁷⁸ John Breton's strongest tie within the cathedral setting was his connection with former Bishop William Alnwick (Bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449), the person next to whom he requested burial, paid for prayers in honour of and whom he described as his most singular lord.⁶⁷⁹ It appears that Breton had previously been part of Alnwick's household, as he is mentioned as being in Alnwick's entourage in his visitation record for 1442.⁶⁸⁰ Breton requested that John Tilney (prebendary of St Martin in Dernestall 1459-1474) and Thomas Wynter, (vice-chancellor 1457-1484) should be two of his

⁶⁷⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 21v.

⁶⁷⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 24r.

⁶⁷⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 22r; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 44v.

⁶⁷⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 88r.

⁶⁷⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 96v, 97v.

⁶⁸⁰ A. Hamilton Thompson (ed.), *Visitations of religious houses, volume III, A.D. 1436-1449* (Lincoln, 1929), 403.

executors.⁶⁸¹ Wynter was clearly a popular member of chapter, as throughout a period of over twenty years he was chosen to be executor for the wills of five residents of the close and witnessed two more.⁶⁸² John Beverley (prebendary of Caistor 1454-1473) gifted 40s and a cypress-wood chair to Wynter for acting as his executor and he also bequeathed 40s, a pair of rosary beads and a ring to his other executor, Richard Myles (clerk of the common chamber c.1455-1467).⁶⁸³ The benefaction of these valuable items indicates strong ties between these members of the clergy and additionally the fact that Wynter was also an executor for Myles suggests that they were part of the same friendship group.⁶⁸⁴ Friendships clearly developed between members of chapter that extended outside the chapter meetings.

Richard Myles was also made executor by another member of chapter, Robert Darcy (vicar choral and warden of the altar of St Peter).⁶⁸⁵ Myles made it clear that his relationship with Robert Thornton (archdeacon of Bedford 1439-1450) was of utmost importance.⁶⁸⁶ He requested burial within Lincoln Cathedral near Thornton and he made provision for chantry Masses, near Thornton's burial place, to be celebrated for twenty years for the benefit of both his soul and Thornton's soul. He also included a dedication for Thornton's soul in the chantry he established in the parish church of Wigford for another friend or kinsman named Cysson and his wife for one year.⁶⁸⁷ It is possible that the strength of Myles' loyalty suggests that he had been retained by Thornton, although there is no evidence to confirm this. However, there is evidence that the relationship was reciprocated, as although the text of Thornton's will does not survive, an entry in the chapter acts for 6 June 1450 records that the administration of Thornton's

⁶⁸¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 98r.

⁶⁸² Thomas Wynter was executor for John Breton: LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 98r; William Swete: LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95r; John Gray: LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 65v; John Beverley: LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 136v-137r and Richard Myles: LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88v. Wynter was also a witness to the wills of Richard Patryngton: LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 11r and William Burn: LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 44v.

⁶⁸³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 98r.

⁶⁸⁴ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88v.

⁶⁸⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101r.

⁶⁸⁶ *FLI*, 17.

⁶⁸⁷ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88v (later foliation).

goods was passed to his executors, one of whom was Myles, who took an oath to faithfully render an account of Thornton's goods to the chapter.⁶⁸⁸

John Pakyngton (chapter clerk 1442-1479) was recorded as one of Richard Myles' executors and he also witnessed the wills of a later residentiary canon, John Graveley (prebendary of Asgarby 1466-1473) and Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471).⁶⁸⁹ Ayscogh's will does not suggest any strong ties to members of the chapter or his fellow cathedral close inhabitants, apart from his servant, Robert Bedale, to whom he left 26s 8d.⁶⁹⁰ However, Ayscogh did appreciate the taste of one of his fellow chapter members; he bequeathed 10 marks for his executors to have a green cope purchased for the cathedral church of Lincoln, to be obtained in the same style as the one given by Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460).⁶⁹¹ Thomas Salisbury is another individual whose will does not suggest many connections with other members of chapter and few within the close, although he did make Laurence Marshall (layman and watchman of the close) and Thomas Grene (vicar choral and chaplain 1439-1475) two of his executors.⁶⁹²

John Edderston (prebendary of Liddington 1427-1455) appears to have had few chapter connections, aside from his fellow residentiary canon John Collinson (Archdeacon of Northampton 1471-1482) whom he made executor of his will and to whom he bequeathed a gilded piece with an image of a woman at the base, a clothes press and a quilt.⁶⁹³ John Collinson was the last out of this group of clergy, who performed duties at chapter meetings 1450-1460, to make his will on 17 February 1481/82. John Collinson had been the clerk of the common chamber, responsible for updating the annual chapter account books, until this role was taken over by Richard Myles in 1451/52 and it is most likely that Collinson had been non-resident ever since.⁶⁹⁴ By this stage in his life he had established firm connections in Ely diocese, particularly his parish church at

⁶⁸⁸ LCL D&C A/2/34, fo. 13r.

⁶⁸⁹ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88v (later foliation); LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 137r-137v; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130v.

⁶⁹⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁶⁹¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁶⁹² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87r.

⁶⁹³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r.

⁶⁹⁴ See Appendix 2 for evidence of John Collinson's non-residence.

Over, where he wished to be buried.⁶⁹⁵ Nevertheless, one of his executors was a later member of chapter, John Waltham, custodian of the altar of St Peter, whom he wished to supervise the completion of work on the high altar in Lincoln Cathedral which Collinson had paid for in his lifetime.⁶⁹⁶ This indicates that Collinson's ties with the cathedral were strong enough to survive temporal and geographical distance.

Analysis of the relationships evidenced in wills

In order to contextualise the networks formed by the members of chapter it is helpful to further analyse the bequests that were given to different categories of people with whom they had relationships. Table 20 shows the range of people who were beneficiaries of the testators' bequests. This table is not a full record of the total number of bequests made; it will merely serve as an indicator of how a testator's bequests were distributed between different categories of people. For example, if the same person was described as being the recipient of multiple bequests then they were only counted once in the table; equally if the number of beneficiaries was plural but the number was not specified, for example if a particular amount of money was bequeathed to all vicars choral, then this was only counted once in the table.

Many of the bequests to higher clergy have been discussed in the previous section, but it is clear from Table 20 that the largest proportion of total bequests from many of the chapter testators were given to the lower clergy. This is most likely because it was customary for the clergy to give a token amount to their fellow clergy, particularly the lower clergy because they would have had to manage on small stipends. This bequest might also have had a commemorative purpose and be dependent upon the beneficiary saying certain prayers or attending certain services for the soul of the deceased. The testators were particularly specific about the different classifications of lower clergy whom they wanted to receive bequests, for example John Edderston (prebendary of Liddington 1427-1455) bequeathed 6s 8d to the warden of the altar of St Peter,

⁶⁹⁵ TNA Prob/11/7/33.

⁶⁹⁶ TNA Prob/11/7/33v.

20d to the sacrist's chaplain, 20d to each vicar celebrating his funeral Mass, 12d to each vicar non chaplain, 12d to each chaplain non vicar wearing the habit present at his funeral, 6d to the poor clerks and choristers at his funeral, 6d to the clerk of the common chamber, 12d to the principal watchman of the close, 12d to the chapter clerk, 12d to the clerk of the common chamber, 6d to the clerk of scribes, 6s 8d to the bellringers and to those digging his grave, 4d each to the four chaplains carrying his body to his burial, 4d to each verger and 4d to the wardens of the shrine of St Hugh.⁶⁹⁷ This type of bequest would have reinforced the structure of the cathedral hierarchy and strengthened the social and economic bonds between the clergy. However these small bequests from Edderston to different categories of lower clergy are not the same as his bequests made to particular clergy. Edderston also bequeathed 40s to a named vicar in the cathedral called Thomas Smyth.⁶⁹⁸ The significantly larger amount of money given to a named individual indicates a stronger tie than the token amounts given to general categories of the clergy.

This pattern is followed in other chapter testator's wills such as John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) who made similar small bequests to the lower clergy but then made named bequests to John Tram (sacrist 1461-1496) of a book and a gilded bowl sculpted with roses and to Philip Cokland (clerk) he left 40s, a silver gilt bowl with a standing cover and a better bowl with a cover.⁶⁹⁹ The same type of pattern can be found in bequests to members of religious orders; Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) made monetary bequests to groups of religious: 20s to the monks of Grimsby, Cotham and Irford.⁷⁰⁰ The bequest made to another member of a religious community by John Leek is different. John Leek (sacrist c.1426-1457) bequeathed to a monk at Ormsby also named John Leek, presumably a member of his extended family or kin, for his own use a drinking cup, 3 silver spoons and 40s.⁷⁰¹ The types of items bequeathed, personal and valuable household objects, suggests a stronger tie of friendship than a small monetary bequest. This example indicates the care with which the evidence should be treated. The fact that the largest number of overall bequests were made

⁶⁹⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r.

⁶⁹⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r.

⁶⁹⁹ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 86v.

⁷⁰⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁷⁰¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 49r.

to lower clergy does not necessarily signify that this was the category with which all testators enjoyed the strongest relationships; it is important to consider not only the incidence of the bequest but also what the type of bequest represented.⁷⁰²

⁷⁰² See analysis of bequests of clergy, laywomen and laymen in Chapter 4, 231-274.

Table 20: Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by testators from the chapter 1449/50 - 1459/60

Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Higher clergy (Elsewhere)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Religious	Family	Kin	Friend	Godchild	Lay servant (of testator)	Unidentified	Pious/ Commemorative	Charitable	University
Alex Prowett	2	0	12	0	0	5	0	3	0	0	1	3	1	0
Robert Ayscogh	1	0	9	0	3	0	6	0	1	1	2	8	4	0
Nicholas Wymbysh	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	6	4	8	24	0
William Bum	0	0	14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
John Beverley	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0
Richard Myles	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
John Breton	1	0	10	9	0	4	0	0	0	1	8	20	2	0
Robert Darcy	2	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0
John Leek	2	0	19	3	2	1	2	0	0	1	10	2	9	0
Philip Tilney	2	0	8	2	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	16	1
Thomas Walton	1	0	13	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
John Edderston	3	0	17	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	5	4	1
Thomas Salisbury	2	0	15	2	1	0	4	0	0	3	15	9	25	0
John Crosby	1	0	17	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	2	8	1
John Collinson	1	0	3	6	6	3	2	0	0	3	10	6	10	1

The testators making small bequests to a series of lower clergy were mostly clergy themselves and so would have wanted to support their fellow clerics with the customary small bequests. If we consider evidence for other clergy testators, outside this case study, there is confirmation that strong ties existed within certain categories of clergy, especially between groups of chantry chaplains who served the same chantry. For example, John Lumpner (chaplain of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry 1445-1468) bequeathed a silver spoon to every other chaplain of the same chantry and William Burton (chaplain of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry), who made his will in 1476, also left silver spoons to his chantry brethren, as well as 12d.⁷⁰³ It was not just chaplains of the Burghersh chantry who had developed particular loyalties; in 1515 Oliver Horner (chaplain of the works chantry) bequeathed 12d to each of his chantry brethren. He also requested that they should bear his body to the cathedral and each should say a Mass of the Holy Trinity for his soul.⁷⁰⁴ Horner's request indicates that he had respect for the part his chantry brethren played in his life and that he also wanted them to play a part in the rituals of his death and burial. The chantry chaplains would have spent a lot of time together, working and praying alongside each other, especially in the case of the Burghersh, Cantilupe and Works chantry chaplains, who had been assigned a house each in the close and would have lived and eaten together. It is not surprising that this daily contact resulted in the creation of strong ties between the chantry chaplains who were unified by their common purpose: to fulfil the foundation ordinances of their chantry founder and honour his or her memory.

The significant 'other' categories of servants and godchildren are also indicators of important relationships. The cathedral residentiaries who would not have had a 'family of procreation', for obvious reasons, became the spiritual fathers of those they baptised or confirmed.⁷⁰⁵ Godparenthood as a concept to aid understanding of kin relations and piety in the late medieval period has been given less attention than it deserves. John Bossy has suggested that establishing ties between a godparent and godchild had the function of cementing

⁷⁰³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 112r; LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 83r.

⁷⁰⁴ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 80r.

⁷⁰⁵ J. Nelson, 'Family, gender and sexuality in the middle ages', in M. Bentley (ed.) *Companion to historiography* (2nd edn., London, 2002), 164.

connections between extended kin whose relationship would have been distant or establishing connections which would not have existed otherwise.⁷⁰⁶ Godparents made voluntary donations of varying magnitudes to their godchildren in their wills which indicated the varying warmth and tenacity of their relationship.⁷⁰⁷ John Edderston (prebendary of Liddington 1427-1455) bequeathed 12d to each of his godchildren, but indicated a closer relationship to one in particular, as he also bequeathed 6s 13d to John, son of Simone Hareby, his goddaughter.⁷⁰⁸ This act of mentioning godchildren by name in wills was perhaps a means of emphasising and reinforcing the importance of this relationship.⁷⁰⁹ Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) left 10s to his godson Robert Whitlok, who perhaps was named after him.⁷¹⁰

The majority of testators from this set of wills made at least one bequest to their servants. Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460) made bequests which reflected his relationship with his trusted servants; he made several bequests to Thomas Newman consisting of £13 6s 8d in money, his third best bed and his third best pair of sheets, 6 silver spoons and a little wooden bowl.⁷¹¹ The extremely high value monetary bequest, combined with the valuable silver spoons and additional household items hints that Newman might have been Salisbury's most intimate servant, who had perhaps been in service the longest. Salisbury also bequeathed to another servant, William Gryffyth, 20s with a bed, so perhaps this was a less senior servant, and additionally Salisbury made a general bequest of 13s 4d to each of his servants at the time of his death.⁷¹² Nonetheless, the testamentary evidence suggests that, in some cases, servants were recognised as holding the same level of importance as family and kin.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁶ Bossy, 'Blood', 133.

⁷⁰⁷ R. Dinn, 'Baptism, spiritual kinship, and popular religion in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 72/3 (1990), 103.

⁷⁰⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r.

⁷⁰⁹ R. Lutton, 'Godparenthood, kinship and piety in Tenterden, England 1449-1537' in I. Davis, M. Müller and S. Rees Jones (ed.) *Love, marriage and family ties in the later middle ages* (Turnhout, 2003), 232.

⁷¹⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁷¹¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 86r.

⁷¹² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 86r.

⁷¹³ J. Kermode, 'Sentiment and survival: family and friends in late medieval English towns', *Journal of Medieval History*, 24/5 (1999), 11.

It is interesting to consider the importance of family ties to the chapter testators. Nine out of fifteen chapter testators made a bequest to at least one family member and twelve out of fifteen made a bequest to at least one family member or a recognised member of their kin. Nevertheless, the choice of bequest signified different levels of relationship with the testator. The persons described by testators as kin in the wills might have been considered to have as much importance as their nuclear family, if the testator did not have blood-relations, or equally if they did not have a good relationship with their family. Also, although family and kin have slightly different connotations, these terms might have been used interchangeably by the late medieval period. Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471) gave to his kinsman John Ayscogh of Stallingborough a silver ring that was in the gift of William Ayscogh.⁷¹⁴ John Ayscogh is described as the son of Simon Ayscogh, Robert Ayscogh's brother so John would have been his nephew.⁷¹⁵ A silver piece of jewellery would have been considered a high status item, a symbol of luxury,⁷¹⁶ and the fact that it was in the gift of William Ayscogh, who seems likely to have been another kinsman, suggests that it could have been a family heirloom. This type of object may have had a special significance, passing on the honour of the family to the next generation.

Additionally, Robert Ayscogh made a bequest to a kinsman, who was also named Robert Ayscogh, and who had perhaps been named after him. Robert bequeathed a two volume set of decretals, lately in the custody of Edward of Stallingborough, to Robert Ayscogh, on the condition that he should attend university and Robert included a further bequest of the book *Pupilla oculi* if his kinsman were to become a priest.⁷¹⁷ This seems to be an attempt by Robert to steer his kinsman to 'follow in his footsteps' and shows the careful thought that Robert has given to his kinsman's career; suggesting that the question of his kinsman's future was a matter of importance to him. Provision was also made for another kinsman named John Ayscogh, who was described as being an esquire to distinguish him from the John Ayscogh of Stallingborough mentioned previously;

⁷¹⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁷¹⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 130r-130v.

⁷¹⁶ G. Egan, 'Luxury lifestyle in medieval London, archaeological evidence c.1200-1600' in *Lübecker kolloquium zur stadttarchäologie im hanseraum VT: luxus und lifestyle* (Lübeck, 2008), 44.

⁷¹⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

John Ayscogh, esquire, was bequeathed a piece of gilded plate with a covering.⁷¹⁸ These types of high value household goods would have been costly gifts and indicate a strong tie between beneficiary and testator.⁷¹⁹ The tie between Robert and John Ayscogh, esquire, is further evidenced by a series of bequests made to John's family: John's daughter Elizabeth was bequeathed 5 marks for her marriage, Edward Ayscogh, brother of John, was bequeathed 33s 4d and Jacob Ayscogh, brother of John, was also bequeathed 33s 4d.⁷²⁰ John Ayscogh was clearly the common factor linking these other relations to Robert and so it is likely this is how Robert became involved in making provision for the next generation by providing money for the dowry of John's daughter Elizabeth. Although both John Ayscoghs were executors of Robert's will, John Ayscogh, esquire, was the supervisor and this confirms the evidence from the rest of the will that this John Ayscogh was Robert's closest kin.⁷²¹

It is important to point out that the figures for the numbers of bequests to family and kin discussed above could be slightly distorted. This is because, for this sample of fifteen wills, there are 58 persons whose relationship with the testator is unidentified. These unidentified people may well have been family or kin but the ties are not expressly delineated either through an explicit reference of the testator to, for example, 'my brother' or 'my kinswoman', or equally through a shared family surname. These unidentified persons may also have been friends, colleagues or even distant family relations. Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460) had the largest number of beneficiaries who were unidentifiable but it is possible to learn more about the type of relationship that Salisbury may have had with some of these unidentifiable persons. Salisbury bequeathed his second best robe with a hood to Master Nicholas Stons; the bequest of second-best goods may suggest the status of the relationship was not of primary importance to Salisbury, yet was still valued.⁷²² However, Salisbury also bequeathed 20s to the brother of Master Nicholas Stons and 13s 4d to his sister.⁷²³ Leaving bequests to the family of Master Nicholas Stons indicates that

⁷¹⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁷¹⁹ Egan, 'Luxury', 49.

⁷²⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130r.

⁷²¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 130v.

⁷²² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 86r.

⁷²³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 86r.

he was more than a passing acquaintance; he was a person whose life meant enough to Salisbury for him to be concerned with making provision for Stons' closest kin. This seems to be the same for another set of unidentified connections: Salisbury bequeathed 20s to William Stevyns and his sons of Upper/Lower Slaughter in Gloucestershire but then made a bequest of another 13s 4d to William Stevyns' sister Isabelle.⁷²⁴ This emphasises the fact that we should not consider these unidentifiable relationships unimportant – some of these people clearly had significant connections with the testator – but the nature of the records does not always allow the nature of these connections to be traced.

A final way for a testator to denote an important relationship was through nomination of their executor. The choice of a reliable executor was clearly of great significance to the testator, as it reassured them that their will would best be honoured after death and their property employed appropriately to sustain their beneficiaries and spiritual health. Sheehan has commented that executors were crucial because they could act as 'a projection after death of the legal personality of the deceased'.⁷²⁵ It is clear from Table 21 that all of the testators from this sample who were involved in chapter meetings 1450-1460 nominated executors; this was one of the most important functions of a last will and testament.⁷²⁶ The majority of testators nominated a combination of members of the higher and lower clergy from Lincoln Cathedral, with members of their family, kin and friends as their executors. Five testators nominated solely cathedral clergy as their executors, without including family or kin. All of the testators, except Robert Ayscogh (subdean 1458-1471), nominated at least one other member of cathedral clergy as one of their executors; many nominated more than one. Ten of the chapter testators nominated at least one other member of cathedral clergy who had been involved in chapter meetings 1450-1460 as one of their executors. These figures strongly suggest that the cathedral clergy with whom the chapter testators had developed friendships eventually

⁷²⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 86r.

⁷²⁵ Sheehan, *The Will*, 215-216.

⁷²⁶ Zell, 'Fifteenth-and Sixteenth-century wills', 67.

Table 21: Comparison of categories of people from whom testators from chapter 1449/50 - 1459/60 selected executors

Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Higher clergy (Elsewhere)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Family	Kin	Friend
Alex Prowett	John Tilney (Pb St Martin in Dernestall)		John Sharp (Ch)				
Robert Ayscogh				John Smyth (Re)	John Ayscogh (Ne)	John Ayscogh*	
Nicholas Wymbysh	John Breton (Pb Sutton-cum-Buckingham)		Robert Sharp (Cl)		Thomas Wymbysh (Ne)		John Eyleston*
			Thomas Boston (Ch)				
William Burn	Hugh Tapton (Cha)		John Hamond (Vi Ch)		Robert Burn (Br)		
John Beverley			Thomas Wynter (Vi Ch)				
			Richard Myles (Cl of the common chamber)				
Richard Myles	Thomas Alford (Pb Carlton Paynell)		John Pakyngton (Chapter cl)				
			Thomas Wynter (Ch)				
John Breton	John Tilney (Pb St Martin in Dernestall)		Thomas Wynter (Ch)		Thomas Breton (Br)		
Robert Darcy			Richard Abbot (Ch)		Thomas Darcy (Br)		
			Richard Myles (Cl of the common chamber)				

Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Higher clergy (Elsewhere)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Family	Kin	Friend
John Leek			Hamone Hawden (Ch)		Thomas Leek (Br)		John Eyleston
			William Rither (Ch)				
Philip Tilney	Hugh Tapton (Cha)		John Hamond (Ch)		Robert Tilney (Un)		
			William Thurland (Ch)				
			Thomas Prikfeld (Ch)				
Thomas Walton			John Balderston (Vi Ch)				
			William Cressy (Vi Ch)				
John Edderston	John Collinson (Ad Northampton)						
Thomas Salisbury		Robert Herby	Thomas Grene (Ch)			William Dystelyng	
			Laurence Marshall (W of the cathedral close)				
John Crosby			Thomas Grene (Ch)				
			Philip Cokland (Chapter cl)				
John Collinson			John Waltham (WaSP)	John Endirby (Ch)			
				William Carlyll (Vi Ch)			
* = Supervisor of will							
Key							
Pb = Prebendary	Cl = Clerk		Re = Rector				
Cha = Chancellor	Vi Ch = Vicar Choral		Ne = Nephew				
Ad = Archdeacon	W = Warden		Br = Brother				
Ch = Chaplain	WaSP = Warden of the altar of St Peter		Un = Unspecified relation				

became some of the most significant relationships of the testators' lifetimes. It has been suggested that the testator-executor relationship could have been born out of practicality; clergy might have been preferred as executors as a result of their proximity and familiarity with post-mortem commemorative services.⁷²⁷ This might have been a consideration, but the types of bequests made to executors, often of personal and valuable items, seems to suggest a deeper connection. Philippa Maddern has explored the necessity of trust and loyalty in friendships and how this manifested itself in feoffor-feoffee and testator-executor relationships.⁷²⁸ The number of cathedral clergy chosen as executors far exceeds the number of family, kin and friends nominated and signifies that, for the clerical chapter testators, their fellow clergy became equally, or perhaps more, important than their own family members.

Case study 2 – Networks developed by the laity living in the close in the late fifteenth century

It is much more difficult to find evidence about the networks of laypeople living in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century because the records kept by the cathedral, such as the chapter acts and the chapter accounts, were necessarily biased in their focus upon the clergy and their involvement in cathedral affairs. It is not possible to conduct a detailed analysis of a group of laypeople meeting on a regular basis within the close, similar to the case study for the clergy in the previous section, because there is no evidence for such a meeting. This case study will focus on the wider networks developed by laywomen and laymen living in the close.

Laywomen

There are only eight wills from this sample for female testators, although there would have been many more living in the close who perhaps were not permitted by their husbands to make wills or were not of sufficient status to make a will.

⁷²⁷ P. Mackie, 'Chaplains in the diocese of York, 1480-1530: the testamentary evidence', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 58 (1986), 131.

⁷²⁸ Maddern, '“Best trusted friends”', 105-109.

Three of the women describe themselves as widows, two describe themselves as being wives and the rest simply laywomen. However there is no doubt that opportunities would have arisen for the women living in the close allowing them to meet, perhaps through attending services, group cleaning or washing work connected with their role in keeping the ornaments and linens of the parish churches presentable, as well as meeting the wives of their husband's friends. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that the majority of a woman's time would have been spent dealing with and supervising domestic affairs and this would have confined her to the home for longer periods than her husband or father, so the prospect of developing relationships with others outside her domestic sphere and family connections would have been more limited.⁷²⁹ There are no clear connections between these eight women; they might have been at different stages in their lives as they were not all contemporaries, their wills are staggered over a period of 60 years between 1455 and 1515, although the majority of the female testators made their wills 1455-1470.⁷³⁰ The social enterprises that women would have been involved in are largely hidden from the records.

Analysis of the relationships evidenced in wills

It is obvious from Table 22 that the social networks of the female testators were smaller than those of the clergy - the female testators made fewer bequests to individuals. This may have been a result of the factors mentioned above - the opportunities available for laywomen to meet and develop relationships would have been fewer. However it is interesting to analyse the relationships that the female testators did honour in their wills, as this sheds light on who they considered to be the most important people in their lives. Conversely to the clerical testators, only one of the female testators made a bequest to the clergy; Katherine Goderic (laywoman) bequeathed a pillow to Robert Stevenott, a chaplain at Lincoln Cathedral.⁷³¹ This is not surprising as the laywomen would have had limited access to the clergy, except at services and for confession. In

⁷²⁹ P. Goldberg, 'Women' in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994), 115-117.

⁷³⁰ See Appendix 1.

⁷³¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128r.

any case, it is unlikely that such relationships would have been exemplified in a will, as any personal relationships developing between clergy and laywomen would certainly have been frowned upon and considered unsuitable considering the clergy's commitment to chastity.

All of the female testators, except Margaret Deve (widow), made at least one bequest to a person specified as a member of their family. Margaret Fenton (wife of John Fenton) appeared to have the largest network of extended family. She bequeathed to her son William and her unnamed daughter a range of household items, including mattresses, coversheets, blankets, sheets, pillows, brass pots and several pewter ornaments. To her other son John she bequeathed a kirtle made out of murrey fabric.⁷³² These are all practical and reasonably valuable items which suggest that Margaret was trying to provide for her children in a useful sense by bequeathing domestic items that they would most likely have need of in their own households. She also left 3s 4d to her brother Thomas and 20d to Thomas' wife Joanna; in monetary terms this suggests that she is closer to Thomas than to her other brother John to whom she bequeathed 20d and to his wife 12d.⁷³³ Margaret left 16d to her sister Alice and her husband but she also bequeathed to her a more personal item: a head covering or head scarf.⁷³⁴ Finally, Margaret left a bequest to her maternal uncle and his wife of 12d.⁷³⁵ Margaret's bequests trace out different degrees of familial closeness; her most important family connections which extended well beyond her nuclear family, including her brother-in-law and sisters-in-laws and her uncle and his spouse. Margaret did not appear to have great financial means, perhaps as a result of her status as a woman whose husband was still alive at the time she made her will: all the important financial assets belonged to him.⁷³⁶ However she used the household items, clothing and small amount of money that were within her rights to bequeath, to pass on to her chosen beneficiaries in order to honour the key relationships that she had established in her life.

⁷³² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101v.

⁷³³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101v.

⁷³⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101v.

⁷³⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 101v.

⁷³⁶ See Chapter 4, 257-258.

The majority of the female testators made gifts to those in their nuclear family groups, either siblings or children; usually these were the most valuable bequests in their wills, for example Katherine Goderic (laywoman) bequeathed a pair of coral beads to her brother William Thoresby, a smock to her other brother, John Thoresby, and a red belt to her sister Joanna Kay.⁷³⁷ As has been mentioned previously, Joan Fitzwilliam (laywoman) made her most valuable bequests of jewellery, prayer beads made out of precious stones and a belt to her son, Thomas Fitzwilliam.⁷³⁸ It appears that a Thomas Fitzwilliam, esquire, was involved in the administration of the county of Lincolnshire; he may have been the Thomas Fitzwilliam who was a reeve of Burwell manor for Lord Cromwell, 1446-1447 and was later a Lancastrian royal esquire who died in 1479.⁷³⁹ Joan made her other son, Ralph Babthorpe (esquire) who also lived in the cathedral close and was perhaps a son from a previous husband, one of her executors but she did not bequeath anything to him, perhaps favouring the son of her latest husband and her heir.

Ellen was also the only female testator who made a bequest to a person explicitly stated as being her kin; she bequeathed to her kinswoman Elizabeth Stanley two furred gowns according to the discretion of her executors, earrings, a silk belt with silver buckles, a bed canopy with a cover of red cloth and two pairs of linen sheets.⁷⁴⁰ However, the same problem that was found with the evidence from the clergy wills applies to this sample; there are 26 persons from the female testators' wills that cannot be identified. As noted above, it may be the case that many of these unidentified persons could be kin or friends of the testators but the relationship has not been explicitly stated. Studies of bequests to individuals in wills consistently show that women recognised a wider range of kin than men did; this also fits with a strong anthropological tradition which observes that women had a special role in maintaining kin networks.⁷⁴¹ A study of Margaret Swan's will, made in 1502 in New Romney, Kent, indicates that the largest number of bequests were made to a range of women who did not appear to be

⁷³⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128r.

⁷³⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 106r.

⁷³⁹ A. Rogers, 'Parliamentary Electors 1968', 59.

⁷⁴⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v.

⁷⁴¹ C. Peters, *Patterns of piety: women, gender and religion in late medieval and reformation England*, (3rd edn., Cambridge, 2008), 42.

directly related to her.⁷⁴² She differentiated between the relationships through the nature of the personal possessions and household items she bequeathed, such as jewellery, clothing, sheets, and so on.⁷⁴³ This pattern also appears in these wills: Margaret Hatton (wife of William Hatton) made a series of bequests in her will to other laywomen of personal items. She bequeathed a blue gown to Anne Roose, a russet coloured gown to Lucie Venn, a necklace to Margaret Waltham, a furred tunic to Emma Botone, a shallow basin to Alice Penyll, a tunic made out of murrey fabric to Margaret Smyth of Beningworth, a hood made of murrey fabric and to Anne Wyls of Bardney, a head covering with a purse.⁷⁴⁴ It seems as if Margaret was distributing her personal possessions between her friends, even if she does not describe them as such. Female friendships and networks constituted a source of emotional support outside their marriages and marital families, and expanded the circle on which they could draw for material assistance.⁷⁴⁵ Margaret had a reasonably wide circle of unidentified female 'friends', most of the female testators had fewer, such as Matilda Lawson (widow) whose only bequest to another unidentified female 'friend' was a blue girdle to John Robson of Willingham's wife and the only similar bequest from Alice Gray (alias Paynter, laywoman) was 12d to the wife of John Bradley.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴² L. Bowdon, 'Redefining kinship: exploring boundaries of relatedness in late medieval New Romney', *Journal of Family History*, 29 (2004), 413.

⁷⁴³ Bowdon, 'Redefining kinship', 413.

⁷⁴⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, 48.

⁷⁴⁵ B. Harris, 'Sisterhood, friendship and the power of English aristocratic women, 1450-1550' in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and politics in early modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004), 43.

⁷⁴⁶ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 71v; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 117v.

Table 22: Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by female testators

[illegible]

All of the female testators of Lincoln Cathedral close nominated at least one executor, as made evident by Table 23. Three of the women only nominated one executor, in two cases this was a male family member and in the third a male friend.⁷⁴⁷ The majority of the female testators nominated a mixture of family, friends and clergy. Six out of eight of the female testators wanted at least one member of their family to act as an executor for them, whereas only four out of eight requested at least one member of the cathedral clergy. Only one female testator, Ellen Retford (widow of Henry Retford, knight), specified a member of the higher clergy, Hugh Tapton (chancellor 1451-1481), as one of her executors; the other four clergy nominations were for chaplains or vicars to act as executors. Although family relationships perhaps took precedence for the female testators living in the close, half of them formed a close enough relationship with a member of cathedral clergy to include at least one as an executor. The fact that the majority of clergy chosen as executors by female testators were chantry chaplains or vicars suggests that friendships may have developed following regular attendance at a particular chantry Mass or through a chaplain's role as a confessor. Equally, the choice of executor may have been taken on the basis that these clergy were men of the Church who would have been bound by a sense of Christian duty to fulfil their role as an executor to the best of their ability. It seems probable that the female testators' choices of executor would have been influenced by the position of women in society. They would, perhaps, have been more likely to choose a male over a female, extraneous to the closeness of their relationship, purely because men were better positioned legally to deal with their affairs.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128r: Katherine Goderic nominated her brother William Thoresby; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 111r: Margaret Deve nominated an unspecified male family member, Nicholas Deve; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 71v: Matilda Lawson nominated a male friend, Robert Wymark.

⁷⁴⁸ Goldberg, 'Women', 112.

Table 23: Comparison of categories of people from whom female testators selected executors				
Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Family	Friend
Margaret Hatton		John Sharp (Ch)	Roger Hatton (So)	
Ellen Retford	Hugh Tapton (Cha)	Hamone Hawden (Ch)		John Whychtote (Esq) Thomas Merle
Margaret Fenton		John Sharp (Ch)	John Fenton (Hu)	
Joan Fitzwilliam		Thomas West (Vi Ch)	Ralph Babthorpe (So)	
Alice Gray (alias Paynter)			William Gray (Br)	John Bradley
			John Paynter (So)	
Katherine Goderic			William Thoresby (Br)	
Matilda Lawson				Robert Wymark
Margaret Deve			Nicholas Deve (Un)*	
* = Supervisor of will				
Key				
Cha = Chancellor	Hu = Husband			
Ch = Chaplain	Br = Brother			
Vi Ch = Vicar Choral	Un = Unspecified relation			
So = Son	Esq = Esquire			

Laymen

There are 23 wills extant for laymen who lived in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century, although this is not representative of the total number of laymen who would have lived in the close throughout the period. Many wills have not survived, other laymen living in the close such as male servants would not have had the means to leave a will and the evidence from the rentals for properties in the close suggests that some laymen used the close only as a temporary base and so their wills did not necessarily reflect their time there.⁷⁴⁹ As a result, the majority of these wills represent only those laymen who were in the close at the point of their death, except for Thomas Burgh (knight), whose will indicates that by the time his will was drawn up he had moved to Gainsborough.⁷⁵⁰ Five of the laymen were related to at least one other member of the cathedral close for whom a will exists; for example, Christopher Thomson bequeathed a silver goblet to his brother John Baildon.⁷⁵¹ Others had more connections; both Ralph Babthorpe's mother, Joan Fitzwilliam and his son, Thomas Babthorpe also lived in the cathedral close at the time they made a will.⁷⁵² The laymen would have had more opportunities to come into contact with one another than the laywomen; they might have belonged to the same guild, they might have had shared business transactions, they might have interacted socially at taverns. Although there were not a great many connections between the men, they all had their own social networks of varying sizes.

Analysis of the relationships evidenced in wills

Table 24 reveals the nature of the networks for laymen. Although slightly more laymen appeared to have had relationships with clergy than the laywomen, only

⁷⁴⁹ See *SO.4H1*; *SO.4H2*; *SO.4H3*.

⁷⁵⁰ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 29v.

⁷⁵¹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r.

⁷⁵² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 106r: Joan Fitzwilliam made her will on 26 June 1467 and named Ralph Babthorpe, her son, as her executor; LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 37r: Ralph Babthorpe who made his will on 17 April 1509 lived at 13 Minster Yard 1488-1510 until his death (*SO.4H2*, 11) and made a series of valuable bequests to his son Thomas Babthorpe; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 154v: Thomas Babthorpe took over the lease for 13 Minster Yard until 1511 (*SO.4H2*, 11) and the preamble to his will describes him as living in the close although it is not recorded where he lived until he made his will on 30 April 1520.

nine out of 23 lay males made at least one bequest to a member of the clergy. The majority of lay male bequests to the clergy were small monetary bequests which perhaps delineated a weak tie. However, John Baildon (layman) bequeathed his bay horse to the Dean of Lincoln, John Constable (dean 1514-1528) and his grey horse to Thomas Burgh (a chaplain, not the knight).⁷⁵³ A horse would have been a practical gift but also a valuable commodity so these bequests could have signified a stronger relationship with the beneficiaries. Thomas Burgh (knight) made bequests of £6 13s 4d to the vicar of Gainsborough for forgotten tithes and 40s to the parson of Doddington for forgotten tithes.⁷⁵⁴ These were perhaps standard payments to churches with which he had connections but more interesting is the relationship evidenced in Burgh's will with Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508), and William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501). Burgh indicates in his will that the indenture and other writings concerning the marriage of his son Sir Edward's eldest son should be left in the keeping of Simeon.⁷⁵⁵ He also made a lavish bequest of 500 marks to Simeon and Skelton, which was to be used for future arrangements when his son Thomas decided to marry, or for the chancellor and treasurer to purchase as much land as deemed acceptable by the oversight of his executors and surveyors so that the money would not be in his son Thomas' keeping.⁷⁵⁶ This was an extraordinarily large bequest, in addition to which Burgh bequeathed them each 100s for acting as two of his executors.⁷⁵⁷ This suggests that Burgh placed a great deal of confidence in Simeon and Skelton to keep the money in trust for his son Thomas; it also suggests that he did not trust his son to keep the money for himself, perhaps he was concerned that as a young man, Thomas may have squandered the money away rather than using it for the specific purpose his father had directed it to be used for. As has been mentioned previously, Burgh lived in the close for a few years in the 1460s but then moved to the manor house he had built at Gainsborough. However, this evidence shows that he still retained strong links with some cathedral clergy in spite of his re-location.

⁷⁵³ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134r.

⁷⁵⁴ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

⁷⁵⁵ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

⁷⁵⁶ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

⁷⁵⁷ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31v.

Table 24: Number of testamentary bequests made to different categories of people/groups by male testators

Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Religious	Family	Kin	Friend	Godchild	Lay servant (of testator)	Unidentified	Pious/ Commemorative	Charitable
John Cartwright	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
William Hatton	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
John Gray	0	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	5	0	3
Thomas Bovile	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
Nicholas Prowett	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Laurence Marshall	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
Robert Strickland	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
John Makynson	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Henry Fotherby	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Peter Dicson	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Robert Bedale	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	3	4
Henry Massham	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8
William Lathbury	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	3
William Dunwyche	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Thomas Burgh	2	0	3	9	8	0	1	1	10	0	6	15
Ralph Babthorpe	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Thomas Hanworth	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	5	13
Thomas Coon	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	0	0	1	4	9
Richard Lawson	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0
Christopher Thomson	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
John Baidon	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	2
William Walker	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Thomas Babthorpe	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	3

The number of the lay male testators making familial bequests was high; nineteen out of 23 made bequests to at least one member of their family. There was less concern for more distant relatives or kin, as only three laymen made bequests to this group. Although wills do not reveal the full range of a testator's kin, they can be regarded as recognising those kin considered most important at a critical moment in the life cycle.⁷⁵⁸ Jennifer Kermode's study of the wills of merchants in York, Beverley and Hull 1380-1500 suggests that the nuclear family, with bilateral kinship, was the pivotal unit.⁷⁵⁹ It was the nuclear family that was more important and the role of kin varied according to family preference and individual bonds of affection.⁷⁶⁰

It is also evident that there are fewer unidentifiable connections with people who might have been close friends or acquaintances, for the lay male testators. For most laymen, providing for the immediate family and also for their heirs was the most important concern. William Lathbury (layman) bequeathed his lands and tenements near Torksey to his wife Alice.⁷⁶¹ However he also specified that after the death of Alice, the said lands were to pass down to his son William and his legitimate heirs. If William did not have any legitimate heirs then the land was to be sold and the money used to pay a priest to pray for the souls of Alice, William, himself, and the souls of his parents and benefactors.⁷⁶² The lands and tenements would have been a key source of income and Lathbury was clearly concerned that they should benefit the successive generations of the Lathbury family. However, he also was careful to stipulate that if there were no heirs to profit from the lands, then the sale of the lands could still be used to the advantage of the family after their deaths through the establishment of a chantry in their name.

There was clearly an element of fear that if the distribution of valued goods was not clearly specified in the will, as well as the different situations that might occur in the future and affect the allocation of their goods, then they would be wasted. John Baildon (layman) made similar provision in his will, he bequeathed 20 marks

⁷⁵⁸ K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995), 92.

⁷⁵⁹ Kermode, 'Sentiment', 6.

⁷⁶⁰ B. Hanawalt, *The ties that bound*, 84-89.

⁷⁶¹ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88r.

⁷⁶² LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88r.

to his son John and 10 marks to his daughter Abrey but he stipulated that if either of them were to die before they reached the age of twenty then the remaining child should receive the whole amount.⁷⁶³ Yet if both children died before the age of twenty then Baildon instructed that the money should be used to pay a priest for a chantry to sing Masses for his soul and all Christian souls.⁷⁶⁴ There appeared to be an idea that children should be supported up to a certain point following their deaths; Thomas Babthorpe (layman) bequeathed to Ralph, his youngest son, 100s every year for the six years following his death, to Edward, his son, 100s every year for the five years following his death, to Richard, his son, 100s every year for the four years following his death and to his son Henry Babthorpe £3 for his marriage money.⁷⁶⁵

Unsurprisingly Thomas Burgh (knight), whose bequests suggest that he was one of the richest testators who had lived in the cathedral close throughout the period, made the most lavish and detailed provision for his immediate family members in his will. The largest bequests were to his sons; Burgh bequeathed to his son Edward £100 worth of household goods, a bell with a cover, half of his marriage money, the farm of Eabury and twenty sheep.⁷⁶⁶ His son Thomas was to receive £40 worth of goods (one half in plate and the other half in household goods), a cup of silver called 'the old Mayneser' with all the other jewels that he was given by the Archbishop of York, a bell with a cover, as much woodland from the woodland of Doddington as should be worth £4 per year and double that the following year, the farm of Acrehouse and twenty sheep.⁷⁶⁷ In addition to this, Burgh made a bequest of £40 to his friend Reginold Dray, a knight, on the condition that he should take Burgh's son Thomas into his service and be a good master to him.⁷⁶⁸ His daughter, Lady Anna Fitzhugh, was bequeathed a locket of gold enamel that belonged to his wife, a bell with a cover and a gold cross set with stones with a large ruby in the middle that belonged to his wife.⁷⁶⁹ Burgh's grandsons Humphrey and Steven Burgh were included in the bequests, each was

⁷⁶³ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134r.

⁷⁶⁴ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134r.

⁷⁶⁵ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 154v.

⁷⁶⁶ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 30v-31r.

⁷⁶⁷ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 30v-31r.

⁷⁶⁸ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31v.

⁷⁶⁹ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30v.

to receive a bell with a cover when they turned twenty years old, and Burgh's granddaughter Margaret was offered a provisional £100 worth of household goods on the condition that she had moved and was living within Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire, if not she was to receive nothing.⁷⁷⁰ Burgh was one of only two lay male testators to make a bequest to a godchild; he bequeathed to his godson Thomas (who was also his grandson) a gold cross set with an emerald in the middle, which was his mother's and a bell with a cover.⁷⁷¹ Extended family was also included in his will; Thomas left £20 to his wife's niece Marie Roos and his son-in-law Lord Fitzhugh was to receive a bell.⁷⁷² Burgh rewarded his family connections handsomely and was clearly concerned to provide for their future after his death; he left marriage money for both of his sons (although Thomas' was in the keeping of the chancellor and treasurer of the cathedral) and he clearly had ideas about the future of his granddaughter in order to offer her such an incentive to move to Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire.

It is also evident from surveying the bequests that the lay male testators were bequeathing possessions associated with their lives. Those lay males who were involved in farming bequeathed livestock. Laurence Marshall (watchman of Lincoln Cathedral close) bequeathed to each of his grandsons three mother sheep and three sheep from the 'ogg' breed as well as a cow from his second best herd of cows.⁷⁷³ He also wanted his wife to have 40 of his best mother sheep.⁷⁷⁴ Henry Fotherby (esquire) also wanted to pass on part of his identity in life to his son John, as he left him his defensive jacket, helmet and silver sword as well as his livery collar of King Henry VI.⁷⁷⁵ Presumably Fotherby hoped that John would follow in his footsteps and serve the Lancastrian cause. Fotherby's will was written the year before King Henry VI returned to power and so perhaps he was encouraging his son to help restore the king to the throne. John Cartwryght, although he did not state this in his will, might have also been an esquire as he too bequeathed a defensive jacket and helmet to his son, also named John

⁷⁷⁰ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30v.

⁷⁷¹ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30v.

⁷⁷² TNA Prob/11/10, fos 30v-31r.

⁷⁷³ LCL D&C A/3/5, fo. 102v.

⁷⁷⁴ LCL D&C A/3/5, fo. 102v.

⁷⁷⁵ LCL D&C A/3/35, fo. 131v.

Cartwryght.⁷⁷⁶ In this way laymen were passing on part of their role and identity in life to their remaining family members.

Only five out of 23 of the lay male testators made bequests to servants; four of these made low to middling value monetary bequests or bequests of household items to their servants. Thomas Burgh (knight), however, made much more generous provision for his servants and the nature of these bequests suggests the high level of trust he placed in these members of his retinue. Firstly, he instructed that all of his household servants should be kept together in the house for six weeks after his death and each of them was to receive a year's worth of wages at their departing.⁷⁷⁷ However, he also made a series of named bequests of especial value to particular servants. Burgh wanted his servant Ellis Deppyng to have the house he lived in for the term of his life and he also willed that his servant Richard Ripplay should have the stewardship of the Bail of Lincoln and the constableness of the castle for the term of his life and 66s 8d.⁷⁷⁸ It was also Burgh's wish that his servant William Denman should have the keeping of his park in Gainsborough, and the house which Burgh purchased for the keeper of the said park, but if Denman were unable to do so then he should receive 66s 8d yearly for the rest of his life, to be paid by Burgh's heirs.⁷⁷⁹ Burgh also requested that if his servant John Brown outlived a person named Hugh, who was overseeing 60 parks for Burgh, then Brown was to have the keeping of the parks during the term of Burgh's son Edward's life but in the meantime he wanted Brown to oversee Burgh's other lands in Whitley woods.⁷⁸⁰ These generous bequests strongly suggest that Burgh treated his servants similarly

⁷⁷⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 9r.

⁷⁷⁷ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 30v-31r.

⁷⁷⁸ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30v.

⁷⁷⁹ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

⁷⁸⁰ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

Table 25: Comparison of categories of people from whom male testators selected executors						
Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Family	Friend	Servant
John Cartwryght		Robert Whaplode (Ch)		Emma Cartwryght (W)		
William Hatton	John Collinson (Ad Northampton)	Thomas Coke (Ch)		Margaret Hatton (W)		
				Roger Hatton (So)		
John Gray		Thomas Wynter (Ch)		Isabelle Gray (W)	William Spyser	
				William Gray (Br)		
Nicholas Prowett		John Sharp (Ch)		Alexander Prowett (Unc)		William Marchall
Thomas Bovile		John Sharp (Ch)	Thomas Mealey (Ch)	Cecilia Bovile (W)		
Laurence Marshall				Joanna Marshall (W)		
				Alice Marshall (Dau)		
Robert Strickland		John Skale (Ch)		Alice Strickland (W)		
		John Sharp (Ch)				
John Makynson		John Skale (Ch)		Isabella Makynson (W)		
Henry Fotherby				Marie Fotherby (W)		
Peter Dicson			John Salley (Ch)	Gunnora Dicson (W)	John Rede	
					Thomas Kyghley (Ge)	
Robert Bedale		John Bedale (Ch)		Matilda Bedale (W)		
		Robert Whaplode (Ch)				
Henry Massham		John Sharp (Ch)		Isabelle Massham (W)		

Name	Higher clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Cathedral)	Lower clergy (Elsewhere)	Family	Friend	Servant
William Lathbury				William Lathbury (So)		
William Dunwyche				Isabelle Dunwyche (W)	William Long	
Thomas Burgh	Geoffrey Simeon (D)		Christopher Viswik (Ch)		Sir Reginold Dray (K)*	
	William Skelton (T)		John Chamber (Ch)		Robert Nevill (Ge)	
			Roger Admison (Ch)		John Henege (Ge)	
Ralph Babthorpe				Thomas Babthorpe (So)		
Thomas Hanworth			Thomas Wylson (Re of Mary Magdalene)		Thomas Carter	
			William Stirr (Ch)			
Thomas Coon					Richard Coup	
					Thomas Hanslay	
Richard Lawson					Robert Wymarche	
Christopher Thomson	John Constable (D)					
John Baildon		Thomas Lillylow (Ch)*		Emma Baildon (W)		
William Walker						
Thomas Babthorpe				Henry Babthorpe (So)		
* = Supervisor of will						
Key						
Ad = Archdeacon	So = Son	Re = Rector				
D = Dean	Br = Brother	W = Wife				
T = Treasurer	Unc = Uncle	Ge = Gentleman				
Ch = Chaplain	Dau = Daughter	K = Knight				

to his family; he wanted to reward their loyal service and make provision for their future after his death.

It is clear from Table 25 that all of the lay male testators except William Walker (layman) nominated at least one executor. The majority of testators nominated one or two executors and mainly chose from family members, members of the clergy or friends. A majority of seventeen testators nominated at least one member of their family and out of this number, twelve included their wife as one of their executors. Henry Fotherby (esquire) had such confidence in his wife to fulfil his last wishes that he made her his sole executor, and Laurence Marshall (watchman of Lincoln Cathedral close) was willing to trust the administration of his whole estate to only his wife and daughter.⁷⁸¹ The majority of the laymen who requested their wives to act as executrices listed their wife first out of a group of executors, or named their wives as lead executor, as Henry Massham (tailor) did with his wife Isabelle.⁷⁸² The fact that wives were chosen above other male members of the family indicates the confidence of husbands in their wives, after years of shared responsibility.⁷⁸³ Three male testators nominated a member of the higher clergy as their executor; Christopher Thomson (layman) made John Constable (dean 1514-1528) his sole executor, which suggests he had a specific relationship with the dean.⁷⁸⁴ More of the laymen nominated members of the lower clergy as part of their team of executors but none of the lower clergy were given the sole responsibility for executing any of the lay male testators' wills. Although Thomas Burgh (knight) did not name Lady Margaret Beaufort, as an executor in his will, he did indicate a friendship with her by requesting her input, beseeching Henry VII's mother to owe her favour and help in performing the will and bequeathing her either an image of St Mary in gold or a salt set, whichever it pleased her to have.⁷⁸⁵ The majority of the laymen fit in with the same pattern that Philippa Maddern's analysis of the wills of the fifteenth-century Norfolk gentry revealed. Maddern's findings indicated that the preferred option of many of the testators was to nominate a mixture of immediate family

⁷⁸¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 131v; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 102v.

⁷⁸² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 139r.

⁷⁸³ R. Archer and B. Ferme, 'Testamentary procedure with special reference to the executrix', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 15 (1989), 4.

⁷⁸⁴ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r.

⁷⁸⁵ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31v.

members, such as their spouse, children or siblings, alongside friends or acquaintances unrelated by blood.⁷⁸⁶ Although seven of the laymen nominated their friends as executors it is clear that family took precedence, and their relationships with their wives were particularly significant.

Comparisons with total bequests

The total number of bequests made to different categories of people in the Lincoln Cathedral close wills is 596 of which 142 bequests were made to family members. It is evident from Table 26 that the most popular family members to receive bequests out of the total number of wills were brothers and sons. The types of bequests made, however, do not suggest that the brother was the most significant relation for the testators, since many testators bequeathed to their brothers a sum of middling value or household goods, such as William Knight (chaplain) who bequeathed 5 marks to his brother Richard and John Oldam (chaplain of Richard de Whitwell's chantry), who left his brother William his best feather bed, a bolster and two pillows.⁷⁸⁷ In some cases the obvious luxury value of the bequest marked out the relationship as significant, for example Alice Gray (alias Paynter) left her brother William Gray 26s 8d and a silver gilded mirror and Christopher Thomson (layman) left his brother, John Baildon, who also lived in the close, a small silver goblet.⁷⁸⁸ For the laypeople, relationships with children took precedence; Alice Gray (alias Paynter)'s relationship with her son was clearly of paramount importance as made evident by her extremely high value bequest to him of £103 6s 8d.⁷⁸⁹ Another mother living in the close displayed a similar relationship with her son by bequeathing to him her most costly personal possessions; Joan Fitzwilliam (laywoman) left her son Thomas Fitzwilliam her amber ring with sapphires, a pair of coral prayer beads with silver gilded clasps and a belt with silver gilded buckles.⁷⁹⁰ Fathers also honoured their relationships with their sons through gifts in their wills; Ralph Babthorpe (esquire) left his son Thomas a white piece with the Benedictus written on the covering, an item which

⁷⁸⁶ Maddern, 'Friends', 172.

⁷⁸⁷ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 110r; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 13v.

⁷⁸⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 117v; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r.

⁷⁸⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 117v.

⁷⁹⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 106r.

is described as an heirloom ‘and so to descende from heir to heir’.⁷⁹¹ Thomas Babthorpe (layman) was also the beneficiary of 6 silver spoons and a gilt piece with an image of the Trinity on it; it seems clear that Ralph was making provision for his eldest son and heir.⁷⁹² These types of items, which had not only monetary value but also personal value to the family unit, emphasised the close nature of the parent-child relationship.

Table 26: Number of family legatees for all testators who lived in Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500	
Categories of family members	Number of bequests to family member from testators
Father	0
Mother	2
Brother	32
Sister	9
Son	23
Daughter	7
Husband	0
Wife	7
Nephew	17
Niece	12
Uncle	3
Aunt	0
Cousin	0
Grandchild	8
Brother-in-law	1
Sister-in-law	2
Son-in-law	1
Daughter-in-law	1
Great niece	2
Great nephew	2
‘Family’*	11
Relative of family member	2
TOTAL	142
* = A family member whose exact relationship to the testator was not specified	

⁷⁹¹ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 37r.

⁷⁹² LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 37r.

Conclusion

It is important to note initially that wills are the evidence of a particular discourse, and other documents might suggest different formations and facets of social relationships.⁷⁹³ In addition, one must appreciate the probability of inaccuracy in assigning beneficiaries into categories of kinship, as recipients can often be fitted into various categories, and the category into which they are fitted affects the interpretation of the relationship.⁷⁹⁴ This study has identified, where possible, the most obvious relationship suggested by the evidence but this might not have been the way in which the testator viewed the relationship, for example a member of one's kin might instead have been considered as a close friend. To begin with, let us consider the first case study of the social networks between members of chapter 1450-1460. Clearly there is evidence of connections that developed within the chapter and, similarly to all meetings that take place, some friendships extended outside the chapter meetings whereas others did not. Smaller networks appear to have developed within the chapter, where members had mutual friends and kinship bases. Clearly members of chapter formed other friendships and relationships within and without the close, some of which were more significant than intra-chapter connections. What was unique about this group was that the chapter meetings provided regular opportunities to interact with a particular set of individuals and develop relationships with some individuals that perhaps would not have been possible outside the context of these meetings. The meetings could have also reinforced relationships that already existed.

Looking at the sample of wills as a whole, in most cases the bequests made to members of chapter formed a very small proportion compared to provision made for family and kin and other pious, charitable and commemorative bequests. However, the fact that such bequests were small in quantity should not diminish the importance of the ties that they delineated. As discussed above, a large volume of bequests to a particular category of person does not necessarily denote strong ties. Certain types of bequests made by the chapter testators were

⁷⁹³ Bowdon, 'Redefining kinship', 417.

⁷⁹⁴ Bowdon, 'Redefining kinship', 417.

personal and valuable items, suggesting that some bequests that were made to their fellow chapter members were similar in nature to bequests made by the laity to their families and also from the clergy to their own families, thus signifying the close nature of the relationship. Additionally, looking at the wider context, the bequests made from chantry chaplains to their fellow chaplains serving the same chantry highlights the importance of being employed for a common purpose in the development of relationships; similarly to the testators who attended chapter meetings 1450-1460.

Nevertheless, bequests were not the only means of highlighting a significant relationship. In some cases, the relationships between members of chapter were so important that they were willing to entrust to their chapter colleagues the task of acting as one of their executors. The executor was one of the most trusted positions that could be denoted in a will. It is particularly significant that out of the fifteen wills that are extant for this group, ten of the testators listed at least one other member of chapter as one of their executors. This supports the argument of this thesis that the chapter meetings did have a bearing on some of the friendships that developed. The choice of executors and the beneficiaries of the chapter testators' wills transcended the boundaries between higher and lower clergy; there is no evidence, for example, that residentiary canons only chose their peers as executors or to receive their bequests. The organisation of the cathedral facilitated relations between the higher and lower clergy and the chapter meetings provided another forum for higher and lower clergy to interact. As a cumulative result of the development of these interactions strong ties developed, in some cases resulting in significant relationships that lasted until death. This is a contrast to Nigel Saul's examination of the wills of the canons of St George's Chapel, Windsor, from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which revealed that the canons hardly ever employed one another in the office of executor.⁷⁹⁵ Saul notes this as particularly striking evidence that the canons did not regard one another as close associates; these were not the ties to which they attached the highest importance.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁵ Saul, 'Servants', 107.

⁷⁹⁶ Saul, 'Servants', 107.

Turning to the networks of the laywomen and men who lived in the cathedral close in the late fifteenth century, it is clear that these were smaller than those of the clergy, presumably because their opportunities to develop relationships would have been more limited, as the close was primarily inhabited by the clergy who had developed networks of social networks within their own group. The male lay testators developed stronger ties with the clergy than the female testators, perhaps because as men they would have been more likely to interact with their clergy neighbours on a social level. Some laymen had cultivated particular relationships with the clergy, such as Thomas Burgh whose strong ties to cathedral dignitaries, Geoffrey Simeon and William Skelton, despite his moving away from the close, were made clear by the trust he placed in them as trustees of the money he left for his son Thomas, and as the executors of his will.⁷⁹⁷ Burgh's active role in the political affairs of Lincolnshire in the latter half of the fifteenth century and his role as a royal councillor meant that he would have been considered a powerful man, of sufficient status to be considered an equal by the two cathedral dignitaries, and also an ally in county affairs.⁷⁹⁸ This might have been the reason that this relationship between Burgh and the cathedral dignitaries was successful; they were all powerful men in their spheres of influence who were able to provide mutual assistance.

The number and nature of the bequests indicate that the male and female lay testators had the strongest ties within their own nuclear families. The male lay testators showed great confidence in their wives, as the majority nominated their wife as one of their executors and the laywomen, many of whom were widows, requested that a male member of their family, usually a brother or son, should act as an executor for them. The laywomen mainly bequeathed to their families a combination of their most valuable possessions, such as jewellery, and practical household items which suggests that they were trying to provide for their immediate family in a useful way. The future generations of their family were of crucial importance to the female testators and it tended to be the children or relations from their most recent marriage that were especially honoured. Testators generally intended for their wealth and assets to remain within the

⁷⁹⁷ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 31r-31v.

⁷⁹⁸ R. Horrox, 'Burgh, Thomas, Baron Burgh (c.1430-1496)', *ODNB*, 787-788.

family and pass through lineal descent, however if this descent was blocked then they were prepared to pass the inheritance to affinal, lateral and lateral descending kin.⁷⁹⁹ This explains why Ellen Retford made such valuable bequests to her late husband's nephew.⁸⁰⁰ The bequests from the laymen were also concerned with making provision for their heirs; they generally received the most valuable bequests such as lands, tenements and livestock which could be used to secure their future solvency after the death of their father. Sons were usually the beneficiaries of treasured possessions that had been an important part of their father's identity in life, such as Henry Fotherby's bequest of a livery collar to his son.⁸⁰¹ This tendency to focus the largest value bequests on heirs must have been drawn from desire to secure the future success of the succeeding generations of their family and suggests that the ties of loyalty between parents and children were particularly strong.

The female testators appeared to value their extended network more closely than the lay male testators. Some female testators outlined the extent of their network with small monetary gifts to extended family and unidentified persons, largely females who were most probably friends and acquaintances, who were bequeathed low value personal effects. Even though the female testators would have had less to bequeath materially, it appears that they preferred to spread their resources more thinly in order to acknowledge all of their friendships. The laymen preferred to make larger bequests to recognise their strongest ties. It is worth commenting on the strength of ties between Thomas Burgh and his servants. Some of his named servants were given important offices, such as Richard Ripley who received the stewardship of the Bail and the constableness of Lincoln castle and others were given lands which would have given them an income, such as William Denman who received Burgh's house and park in Gainsborough under the terms of his will.⁸⁰² This suggests that these were highly valued members of Burgh's retinue who had attained a status similar to that of family in his affections as Burgh was clearly making provision for their future in the same way that he made arrangements for his blood relations.

⁷⁹⁹ Cressy, 'Kinship', 63.

⁸⁰⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v.

⁸⁰¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 131v.

⁸⁰² TNA Prob/11/10, fos 30v-31r.

The ideas discussed at the beginning of this chapter by the social anthropologist Mark Granovetter have provided a useful frame of analysis for the social networks of the clergy, laywomen and laymen. The discussion above has highlighted that there are similarities and differences in the significance of various categories of people to the groups of testators. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the people with whom the strongest ties formed, or their effective network, was often other members of chapter for the chapter clergy and, for the laypeople, this was usually their nuclear family. These were the people with whom these groups spent repeated periods of time, developed emotional relationships and provided mutually beneficial services, as outlined in Granovetter's definition of such a tie.⁸⁰³ The more meaningful and valuable bequests were certainly given to those within the effective network of the testators, which would have been denser than the extended network, and those who were part of that extended network would have received smaller (both in material terms and significance) bequests. This suggests that for the majority of clergy, laywomen and laymen surveyed, part of their effective social network, and for some the preponderance of people in this network, resided in Lincoln Cathedral close.

These two case studies have shed some light on the nature of the social networks of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century and the relational importance of different categories of people. Nonetheless, there are many more avenues to explore in this area of research. It would be interesting to further this investigation and build up a profile for each inhabitant of the close throughout this period, for whom a will survives, which examines not only the number of bequests made to particular persons but also the relative importance of each bequest compared to other persons in the will. This would help to build up a clearer idea of whom the individual effective networks might have consisted and allow individual networks of close inhabitants to be compared and contrasted. Of course, wills cannot fully answer all questions about the relationships of the close inhabitants but the nomination of beneficiaries and executors does provide crucial information about the conscious choices made by

⁸⁰³ Granovetter, 'Strength', 1361.

the testators to demonstrate their level of association with people within their social networks.

Chapter 4: Piety, commemoration and charity

This chapter will investigate the religious, charitable and commemorative concerns of the close inhabitants. It will begin by exploring the study of late medieval popular religion and piety, outlining difficulties with particular terminology. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the concepts of medieval commemoration and charity. After this, the usefulness of methodological approaches from the social sciences will be discussed in terms of this study. This leads into an examination of the usefulness and limitations of using wills to study pious, commemorative and charitable practices. The main focus of the chapter follows: an analysis of the religious, commemorative and charitable identities of the clergy, laywomen and laymen. The testamentary evidence of each group will be considered in terms of the types of pious, commemorative and charitable provision requested and what this suggests about their priorities. Finally, the local and communal pieties espoused by the testators as a group will be evaluated.

The study of late medieval popular religion and piety

Over the last century, the history of religion has changed from a focus on the governance of the Church to the everyday practice of faith. This has drawn attention to the terminology used to describe aspects of late medieval religion, and the precise meaning of these terms. In the 1970s a debate emerged between historians and social anthropologists concerning the definition of the term 'popular religion'.⁸⁰⁴ Some historians have simply understood the term 'popular religion' to denote the religion of the anonymous masses.⁸⁰⁵ The term 'popular religion' can be problematic.⁸⁰⁶ The testamentary evidence for the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close demonstrates a diversity of religious expression, making

⁸⁰⁴ C. Caldwell Ames, 'Medieval religious, religions, religion', *History Compass* 10/4 (2012), 336-337.

⁸⁰⁵ N. Tanner, *The ages of faith: popular religion in late medieval England and Western Europe* (London, 2009), 80-82.

⁸⁰⁶ See: P. Biller, 'Popular religion in the central and later middle ages' in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to historiography* (London, 1997), 221-223.

it difficult to describe a single mentality for the population in this period. As such, this term has been avoided by this study.

Piety is a useful term for exploring the religious devotions of the Lincoln Cathedral close testators. Robert Lutton has emphasised an important point; namely that orthodox piety would not have meant the same thing to all testators. It would have involved different levels of engagement with a variety of religious institutions and consisted of individual patterns of devotion and practice.⁸⁰⁷ Piety will be used in this study to delineate actions concerning the profession or practice of orthodox religious belief without attempting to limit the variety of ways in which this 'piety' manifested itself. Katherine French's interpretation of pious religious practice analysed a broad range of activities that promoted and enhanced worship and Lutton also used the term 'piety' in a flexible sense to explore a range of attitudes, doctrines, emotions, identities and practices.⁸⁰⁸ This seems an appropriate way in which to approach the study for evidence of pieties in a defined group such as the inhabitants of the close.

The close community was different from other groups and contains interesting tensions between homogeneity and diversity. It is also important to consider that those pious acts which are documented are those involving material investment and these are the acts most likely to be influenced by secular concerns of status.⁸⁰⁹ The main sources used in this study to evaluate the pieties espoused by the close inhabitants are examples of post-mortem provision found in testamentary evidence. The examples from the testamentary evidence demonstrate a wide variety of individual choices regarding their funeral, burial, commemorative and intercessory arrangements as well as pious bequests to the fabric of religious institutions and for the maintenance of services, along with charitable bequests to persons and institutions. This underlines the wealth of options available through which people could express elements of their pious devotions.

⁸⁰⁷ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 196.

⁸⁰⁸ French, *People*, 17; Lutton, *Lollardy*, 6.

⁸⁰⁹ Peters, *Patterns*, 41.

The concept of commemoration

A.N. Galpern's observation that pre-Reformation Catholicism was ultimately 'a cult of the living in the service of the dead' has provoked thought amongst historians about the nature of death and commemoration.⁸¹⁰ The concept of commemoration in the later medieval period seems to have held a dual meaning for those considering post-mortem provision as they approached death – remembrance and salvation. People wanted to be remembered by successive generations after their death but they also wished to be remembered in a way that would secure the prayers and Masses which they believed were necessary to speed their soul through purgatory and effect their salvation. As it was almost universally accepted that it was more efficacious to pray for the dead individually rather than collectively, the naming of the dead in a liturgical context played an important role in preserving the memory of dead individuals in the minds of communities entrusted to pray for them.⁸¹¹ It has been difficult to find specific definitions of commemoration in the context of late medieval post-mortem provision. However, the study of memory has been the subject of much recent scholarship. The relationship between history and memory has been considered in many of these texts, particularly the ways in which contemporary historians used the writing of their histories not to simply convey the facts, but either consciously or subconsciously to portray events with particular emphases to fulfil their own agendas.⁸¹² This is an interesting point, particularly when considering how the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close shaped their commemorative practices. Whilst making testamentary requests that involved self-commemoration, the close inhabitants would have desired to create an image that they were pious, god-fearing, upright citizens worthy of being both remembered and prayed for by future generations. This needs to be taken into account when

⁸¹⁰ A. Galpern, 'The legacy of late medieval religion in sixteenth-century Champagne' in C. Trinkhaus and H. Oberman (eds.), *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and renaissance religion: papers from the University of Michigan conference* (Leiden, 1974), 149.

⁸¹¹ Gordon and Marshall, 'Introduction', 4.

⁸¹² G. Cubitt, *History and memory* (Manchester, 2007), 49-58; M. Carruthers and J. Ziolkowski 'General introduction' in M. Carruthers and J. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The medieval craft of memory: an anthology of texts and pictures* (Philadelphia, 2004), 1-31; E. Van Houts, 'Introduction: medieval memories' in *Medieval memories: men, women and the past, 700-1300* (Harlow, 2001), 1-16; J. Fentress and C. Wickham (eds.), *Social memory: new perspectives on the past* (Oxford, 1992), 144-173.

reviewing specific testamentary requests, as the details might have had an extra layer of meaning.

Charitable concerns

It is perhaps misleading to discuss charitable giving separately from pious giving as in the mind of the medieval testator there would have been overlap between the two. Many 'pious bequests' could also just as easily be categorised as being charitable in nature.⁸¹³ Many late medieval testators made charitable gifts to 'the poor'. The references in wills to the collective noun 'the poor' or 'poor men' suggests that the poor were a social group whose condition aroused feelings of sympathy and who were in need of assistance from those in a position to give suitable aid. The attitude of the medieval populace towards post-mortem charity must be understood in the context of their beliefs about death. The negation of sin through acts of practical and visible charity towards the deserving poor was considered an important part of preparation for a "good" death mitigating purgatorial suffering.⁸¹⁴ Charity cannot be satisfactorily understood as a purely altruistic act, because the action of gift giving was so richly rewarding to the giver.⁸¹⁵ The status of "the poor" to the testator could largely have been as a group whose intercessory prayers were believed to be exceptionally effective in the economy of salvation.⁸¹⁶

Sociology, anthropology and religious history

The use of sociological and anthropological models can aid our understanding of medieval religious culture. Clifford Geertz, an influential anthropologist, viewed religion as a system or an arrangement of symbols; his definition of a symbol is wide and includes 'any object, act, event, quality, or relation which serves as a vehicle for a conception'.⁸¹⁷ He suggests that culture is a complex web of symbols

⁸¹³ For the purposes of this thesis, a 'charitable gift' is considered in terms of a material gift which was given to a person or institution that was perceived to be in need.

⁸¹⁴ Swanson, *Religion*, 206-210.

⁸¹⁵ M. Rubin, *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), 1.

⁸¹⁶ Rubin, *Charity*, 264.

⁸¹⁷ C. Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System' in C. Geertz (ed.) *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (New York, 1973), 91.

which provides humans with the ability to communicate meaning; the key point about symbols is that the symbolic meanings occurred within human interaction.⁸¹⁸ This is an idea that is reflected in the writings of Miri Rubin on the role of the Eucharist in the construction of medieval identities: ‘Thus everywhere, in towns and countryside, by peasant and gentry, men and women, priests and mystics, the symbolic system with the Eucharist at its heart was being constituted and reconstituted, defining and being defined by experience and expediency, need and repressed desire’.⁸¹⁹ The ritual and symbols that were part of the Eucharistic celebration had the two-fold function of expressing the collectivity of the body of Christ whilst emphasising individual identities as part of this process; the clergy alone possessing the right to perform this powerful ritual, whilst the laity took a more passive role, yet still participating in the ceremony of the Mass. Rubin has discussed the concept of identities in more detail, acknowledging that whilst medieval people would have had a sense of their role in the community, this co-existed with their own personal sense of identities and affinities.⁸²⁰ She has also commented on the influential role of religion in the construction of identities:

‘Religion was the framework of explanation and orientation in the world, it was the idiom applied in all venues of interaction, be they social, scientific, mercantile, political, charitable, and was itself an area for stronger or weaker identification and choice of personas of piety, virtue, merit, sanctity, authority or charisma’.⁸²¹

The role of religion and how this has been reflected in the individual and communal identities of the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close forms the focus of this chapter and the concepts highlighted by sociology and anthropology provide a useful framework for this analysis.

⁸¹⁸ Geertz, ‘Religion’, 97.

⁸¹⁹ M. Rubin, ‘The Eucharist and the Construction of Medieval Identities’ in D. Aers (ed.), *Culture and history, 1350-1600: essays on English communities, identities and writing* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992), 58.

⁸²⁰ M. Rubin, ‘Identities’ in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006), 383-385.

⁸²¹ Rubin, ‘Small’, 136.

Using wills as evidence of pious, commemorative and charitable practices

Historians have long considered that studying bequests in wills provides us with a reasonable representation of patterns of piety, as well as social norms and expectations. Norman Tanner has even gone as far as to consider legacies in wills to be 'the most important source of evidence' for the piety and charity of pre-Reformation Norwich.⁸²² Nonetheless, using wills to find evidence of piety and charity has been criticised by some historians, such as Clive Burgess. His studies of wills in late medieval Bristol have undermined Tanner's approach, highlighting that the generosity of some people in setting up charitable foundations before their decease sometimes outweighed the bequests to similar institutions in their wills.⁸²³ However the validity of Burgess' approach has been questioned by Lutton, who has highlighted the fact that in Burgess' study, he used evidence from the wealthiest testators to support his claim that the will was a 'blank façade disguising an intricate reality'.⁸²⁴ Lutton draws attention to the point that wealthier testators were more likely to settle their pious provision prior to making a will, simply because they were in a better position to do so; Burgess' claims were not based on a representative sample of the majority of will-makers.⁸²⁵

Attempts to analyse pious intent in testamentary evidence have provoked Burgess' main criticisms; he argues that it is almost impossible to gain a reliable impression of a testator's pious intentions from the will evidence.⁸²⁶ He criticises the fact that by the very nature of a will, commonly written as death approached, it was biased by age and focused upon post-mortem provision. Burgess believes that one's pious actions, along with repentance and confession during lifetime, were the true measure of pious intent and that wills may give false impressions, as comparably smaller scale provisions made within the wills were little more than

⁸²² Tanner, *Church*, xvii.

⁸²³ C. Burgess, '“By quick and by dead”: wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol', *EHR*, 102 (1987), 856. See also A. Brown, *Popular piety in late medieval England: the diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995), 23.

⁸²⁴ Burgess, 'Late medieval wills', 27.

⁸²⁵ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 17-18.

⁸²⁶ Burgess, 'Late medieval wills', 15.

the 'icing on the cake'.⁸²⁷ Whilst it is important to acknowledge that this might be true to some extent, Lutton has indicated that when wills are compared to parish and guild records, they usually reflect testators' lifetime interests. Although they do not always represent the extent and wealth of religious giving during an individual testator's lifetime sufficiently, they do not typically deviate widely from them.⁸²⁸ In addition to this, Robert Swanson argues that these bequests, made at the pivotal point between life and death, were the most important of all pious acts; this was the testator's last opportunity to express their religiosity.⁸²⁹

The formulaic and similar nature of bequests has been considered as both evidence of shallowness of faith,⁸³⁰ and also of social consensus in religious priorities.⁸³¹ The most important question to consider is what was meant by the use of certain bequest forms rather than the lack of originality of some testators' pious gestures.⁸³² Individuals were offered such a great deal of choice in their religious acts and clearly the decisions that were made will reflect, to some degree, their preferences. Therefore, it is possible to make assumptions based upon the evidence in wills. The fact that some testators chose to make elaborate pious bequests, whereas others did not, suggests the level of religious devotion in their life and possibly a belief that pious actions affected their soul's term in purgatory.

There are examples of historians using wills specifically to draw conclusions regarding the expression of religious ideas. Alison McHardy based her study on 76 wills from the archives of Eton College between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and has traced certain patterns of religious and charitable giving among men who were not noticeably religious or wealthy.⁸³³ Peter Heath surveyed 355 wills from the community of Hull, between 1400 and 1529, but has focused more on finding specific evidence of urban piety, unfortunately falling foul of the

⁸²⁷ Burgess, 'Late medieval wills', 16.

⁸²⁸ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 17.

⁸²⁹ R. Swanson, *Religion and devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), 322.

⁸³⁰ Heath, 'Urban piety', 229.

⁸³¹ E. Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (2nd edn., London, 1993), 355.

⁸³² Lutton, *Lollardy*, 14; M. Spufford, *Contrasting communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1974), 344.

⁸³³ A. McHardy, 'Some late-medieval Eton College wills', *JEH*, 28 (1977), 387-395.

pitfalls surrounding will evidence in his conclusions by failing to recognise the detail that wills contain.⁸³⁴ Norman Tanner's study of the Church in late medieval Norwich analysed 1,804 wills between 1370 and 1532 for evidence of pious devotion.⁸³⁵ These studies provide useful models for the study of testamentary evidence, and show that it is possible to form an awareness of the limitations of will evidence and draw tentative conclusions from these sources. Wills are far too rich in detail to disregard and the knowledge gained from testamentary evidence and supporting material from, for example, cathedral inventories, provides much valuable information about the pious interests of different groups among the cathedral close testators.

An analysis of religious, commemorative and charitable identities of the clergy, laywomen and laymen

The next part of this chapter will examine in more detail the religious, commemorative and charitable identities espoused by the wills and how these were related to the testators' position within the community. Identity was a process of accumulation of different experiences and affinities, with particular priorities holding more or less importance at different stages in the life cycle.⁸³⁶ Analysing the wills for evidence of religious, commemorative and charitable identities presents an idea of some of the key religious priorities at the end of the testator's life. Clerical testators are the largest group within this sample, in terms of numbers. Presumably due to the nature of their employment, more of this group made pious provision when compared with that of laity. With this in mind, the clerical wills will be dealt with first, followed by the wills of laywomen and laymen.

Clergy

The study of the clergy in terms of their gender has developed into a new research trend; in recent years studies have emerged investigating the nature of

⁸³⁴ Heath, 'Urban piety', 209-229.

⁸³⁵ Tanner, *Church*, 114.

⁸³⁶ Rubin, 'Identities', 391, 410.

clerical masculinity.⁸³⁷ The choice of a clerical career would have necessitated the adoption of an alternative masculinity which the clergy would have been expected to adhere to. Robert Swanson has termed this third gender of the clergy as 'emasculinity',⁸³⁸ and Pat Cullum has outlined some of the expectations of the type of man who would have been considered worthy of entering the priesthood by the middle of the fourteenth century, such as being of good morals and sufficiently literate in Latin to read and understand the liturgy. However, after making a firmer commitment and taking major orders, a clerk would have been expected to remain chaste, to go unarmed and to avoid violence.⁸³⁹ These behaviours are almost the opposite of traditional models of lay male masculinity,⁸⁴⁰ although self-control was viewed as an important part of masculinity for all men. However, in another way the clergy possessed particular power and authority from their role, from which laymen and women were excluded; only priests had the power to perform the soul-saving sacraments.⁸⁴¹ This type of authority would have been considered traditionally masculine and the clergy would have been regarded as an elite group by the laity. These social expectations would therefore have shaped the way in which the clergy identified themselves. Examining in detail the testamentary piety of the clergy allows one to explore the expression of these particular identities and to discern if they were, in fact, distinct and if so, in what ways.

⁸³⁷ See for example: R. Swanson, 'Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to reformation' in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999), 160-177; P. Cullum, 'Clergy, masculinity and transgression in late medieval England' in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999), 178-196; P. Cullum, 'Learning to be a man, learning to be a priest in late medieval England' in S. Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and literacy in medieval England and abroad* (Brepols, 2003), 135-154; P. Cullum, 'Boy/man into clerk/priest: the making of the late medieval clergy' in N. McDonald and W. Ormrod (eds.), *Rites of passage: cultures of transition in the fourteenth Century* (York, 2004), 51-66; J. Murray, 'Masculinizing religious life: sexual prowess, the battle for chastity and monastic identity' in P. Cullum and K. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and masculinity in the middle ages* (Cardiff, 2004), 24-42.

⁸³⁸ Swanson, 'Angels', 161.

⁸³⁹ Cullum, 'Learning', 137.

⁸⁴⁰ See 263-364.

⁸⁴¹ Cullum, 'Clergy', 184.

Pious bequests



Figure 22: Virgin and child, late fifteenth century, alabaster, painted and gilded (Taken from P. Williamson, 'The parish church' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds), *Gothic art for England 1400 – 1547* (London, 2003), 392).

As men who were closely involved with celebrating the daily liturgy, the pious bequests of the clergy were unsurprisingly concerned with the fixtures and fittings of Lincoln Cathedral and other parish churches. There are examples of clergy testators making gifts of images to be placed in the cathedral, for example Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) made a generous donation:

Item a grett Image of ovr lady syttyng yn a chaire sylver and gylte with iiij polles ij of them havng arnes yn the toppe before havng upon hir hede a crowne sylver and gylte sett with stones and perles and one bee with stones and perles abowte hir neke and an owche dependng therby havng yn hir hand a septer with one floure sett with stones and perles and one bird yn the tope thereof and hir chyld syttyng upon hir knee with one crown of his hede with a diademe sett with perles and stones holdng a ball with a crose sylver and gylte yn his lyft hand and at ayther of his fete a scochon of Armes with Armes of the gyft off master mason.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴² Wordsworth, *Inventories*, 16.

An image of a statue similar to the one bequeathed by Mason can be seen in Figure 22. It is fitting, considering the dedication of the cathedral, that Mason commissioned this item especially for the cathedral community. He clearly wanted to be identified as the pious donor, as he included his heraldry on the object. This must have been an extremely valuable item, as in the chapter acts there is a copy of an additional confirmation of legal possession from Mason's executor, John Taylor, authorising that Mason: 'hym sellff in hys holl lyve delyvered and gave to the forsaied dean and chapitour and to the church of Lyncoln and in full season ther of sett it uppon the said hight altere in the same church in tokenyng of full possession and seysyn of the said honorable gifte and merytory dede'.⁸⁴³ Image bequests articulated private devotions; by presenting a bespoke piece of art such as this to the cathedral, Mason expressed his devotion to its patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the mother of Jesus.⁸⁴⁴

Late medieval piety responded well to visual stimuli and as a result donors were intensely concerned with the visual quality of their devotional gifts; this is exemplified by the description of Mason's luxuriant golden bejewelled statue.⁸⁴⁵ This statue might have been included in the celebrations of St Anne's day; which involved a procession from the guildhall to the cathedral, cumulating in a service enacting the Assumption and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the nave of the cathedral.⁸⁴⁶ The practice of using art to inspire pious feelings was widespread: for example Maurice Hardwick, incumbent at All Saints' Bristol from 1455 until 1471, commissioned a wooden statue of St Ursula 'to excite people to devotion'.⁸⁴⁷ Carvings and paintings of the saints, however, were not just visual reminders of a strong and virtuous role model. Donations such as this would have served to beautify the cathedral, reflecting the wealth and honour of its community. Requests for the repair of ornaments or donations of new items in

⁸⁴³ LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 88v.

⁸⁴⁴ K. Kamerick, *Popular piety and art in the late middle ages: image worship and idolatry in England 1350-1500* (Basingstoke, 2002), 97.

⁸⁴⁵ E. Duffy, 'Late medieval religion' in R. Marks and P. Williams (eds.), *Gothic art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), 65.

⁸⁴⁶ J. Stokes, 'Staging wonders: ritual and space in the drama and ceremony of Lincoln Cathedral and its environs' in F. Andrews (ed.), *Ritual and space in the middle ages: proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2011), 199.

⁸⁴⁷ C. Burgess, '“Longing to be prayed for”: death and commemoration in an English parish in the later middle ages' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), 60-61.

these wills indicate how the physical environment of the cathedral shaped the piety of the clergy testators, and as a result they wanted to ensure that a part of themselves was left behind after their death, continually participating in the rituals and services.

The most popular bequest from all ranks of clergy was for an altar frontal. Many donors specified that exhortations for prayer should be embroidered onto the altar frontals, such as that of Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508), who requested that “have mercy oh most benevolent Jesus on the soul of Geoffrey Simeon” should be stitched onto the eight altar frontals he commissioned.⁸⁴⁸ These types of bequest suggest how clergy identified with the importance of remitting purgatorial suffering, which was implicit in the Church’s teaching. There appears to have been a culture of blatant exhortations for prayer in the later medieval period. This was not confined to Lincoln and to the clergy; Clive Burgess identified examples of this in his study of the benefaction list of All Saints’ church, Bristol. Alice Chestre donated ‘a hearse cloth of black worsted with letters of gold of H & C & A & C and a scripture in gold, ‘Pray for the souls of Henry Chestre and Alice his wife’. The benefit of having this information from the benefaction list is that the reasons for the donation were recorded. Alice Chestre made her benefaction ‘for the love and honour that she had unto Almighty God and to all Christian souls, and for the ease and succour of all this parish unto whom she owed her good will and love in her day’.⁸⁴⁹ We cannot be certain of the motivations of the donors at Lincoln, but the exhortations for prayers for a named donor would surely have served a multiple purpose. It would have emphasised the fact that the donor had donated the altar frontal; this would have acted as an outward symbol of the donor’s piety for the congregation at Mass, whilst also reminding them of the need to pray for the donor’s soul. These pious gifts would have aided the celebration of Mass on a practical level but also afforded another opportunity to stimulate intercession for the donor’s soul.

⁸⁴⁸ TNA Prob/11/16, fo. 26r.

⁸⁴⁹ Burgess, ‘An afterlife in memory’, 205.

Short term commemoration

A funeral was the most immediate short term measure of commemoration after death. Robert Lutton and Robert Dinn have identified a trend in an increasing proportion of testators, in late medieval Tenterden and Bury St Edmunds respectively. The testamentary evidence examined has suggested the growth of a more elaborate funeral ritual and these developments indicate a growth in individual control over funerals.⁸⁵⁰ Funerals could be as simple or as complex as a testator desired; there was an elaboration of funeral practice in the later medieval period for the higher clergy. Lepine refers to these developments as the construction of 'extended funerals'; these rites included the preparation of the body, a vigil, a procession, offices of the dead, the requiem Mass and burial followed by a funeral feast.⁸⁵¹

Thirteen of the Lincoln Cathedral close clergy included a description of their wishes for a funeral procession in their wills. Jacques Chiffolleau has referred to the elaboration of the funeral procession, an important development in medieval funerary practice, as a 'theatre of death'.⁸⁵² The funeral procession combined religious and social functions which are difficult to separate: its length and solemnity honoured God and proclaimed the devotion of the deceased but it was also a display of status. Those who would have been wealthy enough to afford a funeral procession were frequently reminded of their need for intercession, and that it was their duty and in their interests to stimulate it for the benefit of their souls.⁸⁵³ The intercessions of the poor and the clergy were particularly sought after, especially the poor as it was believed that their lowly and humble status meant that their prayers for the departed were particularly beneficial.⁸⁵⁴ Often a group of poor people was used in the actual pageantry and display of the funeral

⁸⁵⁰ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 64; R. Dinn, ' "Monuments answerable to mens worth": burial patterns, social status and gender in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 241.

⁸⁵¹ Lepine, ' "High Solemn Ceremonies" ', 24-25. The offices of the dead usually included Vespers of the Office of the Dead, known as Placebo and Matins of the Office of the Dead, known as Dirige. For more detail on these services, see: Foster (ed.), *Lincoln wills*, volume 1, 245-47.

⁸⁵² J. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320 - vers 1480)* (Rome, 1980), 126.

⁸⁵³ Burgess, ' "Longing" ', 49.

⁸⁵⁴ C. Daniell, *Death and burial in medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1999), 52.

itself. Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460), requested seven poor men in his funeral procession, carrying torches and wearing black gowns with black cloaks.⁸⁵⁵ As Salisbury's request shows, most testators desiring a funeral procession requested that the poor should be dressed appropriately in black and included in the procession, usually carrying torches to add to the grandeur of the occasion. The solemn procession of the deceased's body, followed by mourners dressed in black with torches lighting the way to their final resting place would have been an important symbol, making onlookers mindful of their eventual fate and reminding them to pray for the deceased as they would hope to be prayed for when their time came.

Torches and votive lights were important to the close testators, as physical evidence of their devotion to particular saints as well as being symbolic of their hopes of saintly intercession for their salvation. John Edderston (prebendary of Leighton Manor 1427-1455) made especially complicated provision for the presence of torches at his funeral Mass but also for the distribution of these torches after his funeral:

Item [volo - interlined] *quod ordinentur* duodecim torchie cere *pretio* cuiuslibet torchie *quinque solidorum* quas volo *pauperes* deferre in exequiis meis et missa...Item volo *quod* *predicte* torchie distribuuntur sub hac forma videlicet una altari *domini* mei Ricardi Flemmyng in capella *sancte* Trinitatis una altari *sancte* Katherine una altari *beate* marie una altari sancti Nicholai una altari de le Peell una altare *sancte* Anne una altari *sancte* Johannis evangeliste una altari sancti *Christoferi* due magne gilde *sancte* Marie et una ecclesie sancti Marie de Risum.⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 85v.

⁸⁵⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r: Likewise I [will – interlined] that 12 wax torches are ordained at a price of 5s. for each torch, which I will that poor men carry at my funeral and Mass...Likewise I will that the aforesaid torches should be distributed in this manner. Namely one to the altar of my Lord Richard Flemmyng in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, one to the altar of St Katherine, one to the altar of Blessed Mary, one to the altar of St Nicholas, one to the Pele altar, one to the altar of St Anne, one to the altar of St John the Evangelist, one to the altar of St Christopher. Two to the great gild of St Mary and one to the church of St Mary of Riseholme.

The instructions in Edderston's will for the dual purpose of his torches, for use in his funeral procession but also presumably as votive lights, was a symbolic extension of specific mortuary provision into private devotion. These votive lights would have been considered to be celebratory, as they were not strictly essential and therefore were an extravagant outpouring of honour to the saints whose altars they illuminated.⁸⁵⁷

Chantries

From the twelfth century onwards it was conceived that after death, the soul was tormented in purgatory, in reparation for the sins that had been committed in life. Contemporaries believed that they could shorten this process through making arrangements to procure prayers for their soul and maintaining Masses, which would be celebrated for the sake of their soul, by the living.⁸⁵⁸ The cult of Masses for the dead and the focus on encouraging prayer and intercession to speed one's soul through purgatory in the later medieval period was the motive behind the arrangement of chantries in Lincoln Cathedral.⁸⁵⁹ A chantry provided for the daily celebration of Masses, usually at an existing altar in a church or cathedral, and following successful application to the crown for a licence to endow a perpetual chantry. The Statute of Mortmain, passed in 1279, was intended to preserve the revenues of the crown by preventing alienations of land or property to the Church without royal licence.⁸⁶⁰ A chantry was supported either by the endowment of lands or churches, rents, pensions from churches or religious houses or a sum of money and could be established during the founder's lifetime or as fulfilment of their wishes after their death.⁸⁶¹ It also provided a stipend, usually between £5 and £6 per year for at least one chantry chaplain, whose main duty was to sing daily Masses for the founder's intentions, as well as any other duties stipulated in the foundation deed. Chantries could be established for a finite time or in perpetuity. However, only the very wealthy

⁸⁵⁷ Aston, 'Death', 219.

⁸⁵⁸ R. Swanson, *Catholic England: faith, religion, and observance before the Reformation* (Manchester, 1993), 222.

⁸⁵⁹ G. Cook, *Mediaeval chantries and chantry chapels*, (4th edn., London, 1968), 7.

⁸⁶⁰ S. Raban, *Mortmain legislation and the English church, 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982), 1-28.

⁸⁶¹ Burgess, "Longing", 57.

could afford to endow a perpetual chantry and many were established for as long as the founder's goods would endure.

The celebration of Mass was central to pre-Reformation Christianity. Through the sacrifice of the Mass, the redemption of the world following Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, was renewed and made fruitful for the faithful.⁸⁶² Also included in the Mass were prayers to honour God and the saints, prayers for the well-being of the living and prayers for the benefit of deceased Christians. The liturgy of the Mass made the absent present in a non-physical way; it also enhanced community by bringing the living closer to members of the Church who had died.⁸⁶³ The testamentary evidence for the late fifteenth century reveals that 26 clerical testators made requests for a total of 30 chantries – 23 testators requested one chantry, Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1455) and Richard Myles (clerk of the common chamber) requested two each and John Collinson (archdeacon of Northampton 1471-1482), requested three.⁸⁶⁴ 26 out of the total were clerical testators so almost half of the total number of clerical testators made arrangements in their wills for a chantry; six of the clergy were dignitaries, seven were residentiary canons, nine were chaplains and vicars choral, two were clerks, one was a poor clerk and one was a verger. The majority of chantries proposed were temporary chantries, which would run for a finite amount of time. There were 27 requests for temporary chantries and three for perpetual ones – the perpetual chantries were requested by Edmund Hanson (precentor 1506-1512), Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1455) and John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477).

Thirteen clergy testators noted that their desired chantry location was Lincoln Cathedral. It is not difficult to determine why this would have been a desirable option. As has been mentioned previously, the cathedral was the mother church of the diocese and an important symbol of power. This was the building in which they had worked and worshipped for part of their lives and after their deaths they may have seen the celebration of a chantry on their behalf by their contemporaries as a way of remaining part of that community. The location of a

⁸⁶² Duffy, *Stripping*, 91.

⁸⁶³ D. d'Avray, *Medieval religious rationalities: a Weberian analysis* (Cambridge, 2010), 35.

⁸⁶⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v; LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88v; TNA Prob/11/7, fo. 33v.

chantry was a significant choice because it represented a decision to provide a church or cathedral with an extra series of Masses to glorify God. It also provided an extra priest at no cost to the Church, in the case of perpetual chantries, in theory forever, which represented a munificent gift as the community benefited from the services of another priest, who would have joined in the services in the choir and assisted with other liturgical duties.⁸⁶⁵ Clive Burgess suggests that chantry founders were not ignorant of the contribution which chantry chaplains made for the benefit of the parish.⁸⁶⁶ The chaplains would have provided extra priests to join the vicars choral at the cathedral to sing at daily services. Alan Kreider highlights that some chantry chaplains were engaged in teaching; although there is no evidence that this was common practice at Lincoln.⁸⁶⁷ In fact, the ordination of the Cantilupe chantry from 1366/67 indicates that chaplains serving this chantry were prohibited from holding any other office in the cathedral.⁸⁶⁸ However, chantry chaplains might have played an educational role on an informal basis.⁸⁶⁹

The testators who chose to establish chantries in other churches would certainly have had a significant connection with that church. William Swete (chaplain of the Cantilupe chantry 1436-1460) wanted to establish a chantry in St Margaret's church, in Lincoln Cathedral close, for ten years or as long as his goods endured which would have required a reasonable investment which suggests a close spiritual relationship with his parish church.⁸⁷⁰ Edmund Hanson (precentor 1506-1511) preferred to establish a perpetual chantry in the church of St Michael, Cambridge.⁸⁷¹ This parish church was attached to the college of Michaelhouse, which existed between 1324 and 1536, part of the University of Cambridge.⁸⁷² Hanson was a fellow of Michaelhouse and studied theology there from 1464 onwards, eventually becoming a Doctor of Theology in 1488.⁸⁷³ He clearly had a

⁸⁶⁵ Burgess, 'An afterlife in memory', 210.

⁸⁶⁶ C. Burgess, ' "For the increase of divine service": chantries in the parish in late medieval Bristol', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36/1 (1985), 65.

⁸⁶⁷ A. Kreider, *English chantries: the road to dissolution* (London, 1979), 59-66.

⁸⁶⁸ LAO Reg. 10, fo. 21v.

⁸⁶⁹ M. Rousseau, *Saving the souls of medieval London: perpetual chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c.1200-1548* (Farnham, 2011), 63.

⁸⁷⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95r.

⁸⁷¹ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 40r.

⁸⁷² Leader, *Cambridge*, 80.

⁸⁷³ BRUC, 285.

keen interest in the university, serving as junior proctor 1471-1472.⁸⁷⁴ His decision to found a chantry here could suggest that he found his time at Cambridge was most crucial to his personal and spiritual development.

It is difficult to trace the existence of most of these temporary chantries as they would have appeared fleetingly in the records, some of which no longer exist. There is more evidence for perpetual chantries; there was only one perpetual chantry requested in this sample of wills to be set up in Lincoln Cathedral and that was by John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477). In the codicil of his will, Crosby directed the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral to acquire 200 marks worth of rents and temporal goods for the use and augmentation of the fabric, in order to sustain his perpetual chantry.⁸⁷⁵ There is evidence that his wishes were followed by his executors, as an entry in the chapter acts on 7 September 1493 indicates that the chaplain Robert Kyrkeby was nominated by Philip Cokland, one of Crosby's executors, to the chantry of Magister John Crosby, late treasurer, on the death of Robert Falows.⁸⁷⁶ The chapter acts indicate that, at least, an additional seven perpetual chantries were founded in Lincoln Cathedral between 1450 and 1500;⁸⁷⁷ in total this is as many as the eight perpetual chantries founded in York Minster over the whole period of the fifteenth century and eclipses the two perpetual chantries founded in St Paul's Cathedral 1450-1499.⁸⁷⁸

The chantries would have been designed to fulfil the pious priorities of the testator founding the chantry but some testators generously included their nearest

⁸⁷⁴ BRUC, 285.

⁸⁷⁵ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 86v.

⁸⁷⁶ LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 87v.

⁸⁷⁷ The following evidence suggests that perpetual chantries had been founded for: John Macworth (dean 1412-1452), see LCL D&C A/2/34, fos 25r, 43v, 50v, 53r; Robert Flemming (dean 1452-1483), see LCL D&C A/3/1, fos 24v, 180v and LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 50r-51r; Cole, *Chapter acts 1536-1547*, 196; Agnes and William Caux/Cause (laity), see LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 45r and LCL D&C A/2/37, fos 35r, 48r, 72v, 80v, Cole, *Chapter acts 1536-1547*, 196; John Chedworth (Bishop of Lincoln 1452-1471) and John Collinson (archdeacon of Northampton 1471-1482), see LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 2r, LCL D&C A/3/1, fos 8v, 22v, 60v, 75v, Cole, *Chapter acts 1536-1547*, 197; Thomas Alford (prebendary of Carlton Paynell 1471-1486), see LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 173v, Cole, *Chapter acts 1536-1547*, 196; Philip Leipyates (subdean 1478-1488), see LCL D&C A/3/1, fos 57r-57v; John Russell (Bishop of Lincoln 1480-1494), see Cole, *Chapter acts 1536-1547*, 195.

⁸⁷⁸ R. B. Dobson, 'Citizens and chantries in late medieval York' in D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (eds.), *Church and city, 1000-1500: essays in honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge, 1992), 318; Rousseau, *Saving*, 13.

and dearest in the dedication of their chantry. This would ensure that they were included in the daily prayers and Masses and therefore also reap the spiritual benefits. Fifteen of the chantries (including two of the perpetual chantries) requested were to be offered for a combination of relatives, most commonly the souls of their parents, friends and benefactors. Some testators extended their prayers further than this, for example Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1455),⁸⁷⁹ dedicated his chantry for his own soul but also the souls of his parents, the souls of Peter Preston and John Squero, who were presumably friends or kin, the souls of his parishioners and the souls of all the faithful departed.⁸⁸⁰ The fact that so many testators included others in the dedication of their chantries suggests that most of the Lincoln Cathedral close testators had developed strong social bonds with family and friends in life, to the extent that they were willing to share the spiritual benefits of their chantry.

Obits

There were developments in late medieval funeral provision which took into account contemporary concerns regarding the central importance of the Mass. An obit was the repetition of the funeral rites, including a requiem Mass, on a specific date or anniversary, for a number of years or in perpetuity.⁸⁸¹ Often provision was made by the founder of the obit for small amounts of money or food for the attendees of the obit, to encourage attendance and prayers. This would have ensured that the founder's soul was prayed for on that date and repeated as often as had been requested. These would have been social occasions, opportunities for the community to come together and remember their departed brethren or loved ones. An obit was significantly less expensive than founding a chantry and obits were popular among testators as it was hoped that this re-enactment of the liturgy of their funeral would stimulate intercession.⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ FL1, 71.

⁸⁸⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 87v.

⁸⁸¹ P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), 20-21.

⁸⁸² C. Burgess, 'A service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 105 (1987), 204.

29 clerical testators requested at least one obit and six of those testators requested two or more. The largest request for obits came from John Breton, clerk, who left money and silver items to support obits in Norwich Cathedral, the collegiate chapel in the fields below Norwich, the collegiate church of Fotheringay, the monastic church of Ramsey, Osney abbey and the church of St Frideswide near Oxford.⁸⁸³ In total, the 29 testators requested 44 obits and twenty of these were to be founded in Lincoln Cathedral. This is slightly fewer than the number founded at Exeter Cathedral over the period 1451-1500.⁸⁸⁴ The majority of these obits, 30, were to be honoured for an unspecified duration, in some cases the details had been arranged prior to the writing of the will or perhaps it was assumed that the obits were to last for as long as the funds supporting them would endure. Seven obits were honoured for an unspecified duration: in some cases ranging between one and 40 years and two obits were to be perpetual and to be held in Lincoln Cathedral for the souls of John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) and Thomas Wright (sacrist).⁸⁸⁵ Perpetual obits demanded the largest financial endowments and Crosby left a hefty 200 marks to establish both a perpetual obit and chantry in Lincoln Cathedral; Wright bequeathed £13 6s 8d to the vicars choral to bind them and their successors to do a perpetual obit for him.⁸⁸⁶

Funeral monuments

Funeral monuments were important longer term forms of commemoration as the clergy of Lincoln Cathedral close believed that these would be permanent representations and memorials of themselves which would help to secure future intercession from those reading their inscriptions. Ten testators made requests in their wills for monuments to be erected after their death, and eight of these were for monuments in Lincoln Cathedral, such as the request of John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) for an honest marble stone carved with his picture and two

⁸⁸³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 96v.

⁸⁸⁴ D. Lepine, ‘“Their name liveth for evermore”? Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the later middle ages’ in C. Barron and C. Burgess (eds.), *Memory and commemoration in medieval England* (Donington, 2010), 63.

⁸⁸⁵ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87r; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 105v.

⁸⁸⁶ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 87r; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 105v.

angels.⁸⁸⁷ Fortunately there is an additional source of evidence for monuments in the cathedral; Robert Sanderson's record of the monumental inscriptions of Lincoln Cathedral, compiled in 1641 before many monuments were destroyed as a result of iconoclasm in the English civil war.⁸⁸⁸ It has been possible to ascertain that monumental inscriptions were only recorded for three out of the eight testators that requested monuments in the cathedral; five testators' wishes for memorials in the cathedral were not honoured. Sanderson has also recorded that a further thirteen of the close testators had monuments in the cathedral. These testators did not mention their funeral monuments in their wills because a considerable number of funeral monuments were prepared during the lifetime of the person who was to be commemorated, either for reasons of concern over the monument or even scepticism about the reliability of executors.⁸⁸⁹ Therefore a total of 23 of the Lincoln Cathedral close testators either requested funeral monuments in their wills or there is evidence that funeral monuments existed for them. In addition, it has been possible to identify from Sanderson's records an additional sixteen members of the clergy that had monuments in the cathedral at this time, who would have lived in Lincoln Cathedral close, but for whom no will survives. The additional information from Sanderson helps to provide a more balanced picture of the numbers of Lincoln Cathedral close inhabitants commissioning monuments at this time. It also supports Burgess's claims that caution us against relying on wills as providing the full range of after death provision for each testator.

In total 35 members of the clergy of Lincoln Cathedral close commissioned monuments. The majority of clergy who wanted or had commemorative tombs, marbles and brasses were residentiary canons (thirteen) and dignitaries of the cathedral (eleven), although there were also six chantry chaplains, a subdean, a vicechancellor, two clerks and a verger. It has long been the traditional view that tombs and brasses were effectively Mass produced from the thirteenth century onwards and workshops carried stock effigial types, which therefore limited the

⁸⁸⁷ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 86r.

⁸⁸⁸ See Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*.

⁸⁸⁹ M. Norris, 'Later medieval monument brasses: an urban funerary industry and its representation of death' in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in towns, urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600*, 2nd edn (Leicester, 1995), 189.

ability of the client to exert significant influence on the designs of the effigies.⁸⁹⁰ However, Matthew Ward has undermined this view, and demonstrated how patrons could leave instructions for workshops to add additional elements to their effigies.⁸⁹¹ The choice of effigy does, therefore, provide an indication of how the deceased wished to be commemorated. Nicholas Wymbysh (prebendary of Ketton 1427-1455) had dual priorities in terms of the nature of his commemorative monument. His tomb is described by Sanderson as being 'stately', with a full length portraiture of a man in religious habit but underneath this is a helmet with a Saracen's head, in the traditional style of some knightly tombs.⁸⁹² Also included on Wymbysh's tomb are three escutcheons bearing the family arms; this suggests that he was attempting to use both images of his religious role at the cathedral combined with the secular status of his family to symbolise his prominence and connections in order to ensure recognition and respect from the living.

There were three requests from or descriptions of tombs for the inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close, nine for memorial stones, twelve for marble slabs and fourteen for brasses. The majority of the inscriptions followed a customary epitaph, some with images and others without. John Beverley (prebendary of Caistor 1454-1473) was one of the testators who left instructions for a monument in his will, directing that: 'Ordinent eciam executores mei p^m lapide marmores [sic] honesto non sumptuoso cum ymagine canonici in habitu chori ponendo super sepulcro meo cum Epithaphio consueto'.⁸⁹³ It seems that his wishes were followed as Sanderson records that for Beverley's tomb there was a marble slab with his portrait and the following inscription: 'Here lies Master John Beverley, professor of holy writ, sometime residentiary canon of this church, who died on the twenty first day of the month of June, in the year of Our Lord 1473. In the thirtieth year of King Edward the fourth after the English conquest. On

⁸⁹⁰ N. Saul, *Death, art and memory in medieval England* (Oxford, 2001), 229.

⁸⁹¹ M. Ward, *The livery collar: politics and identity in fifteenth-century England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2013), 62-67.

⁸⁹² Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 3.

⁸⁹³ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 136v: My executors shall ordain for an honest but not expensive marble stone with the image of a canon in choir habit to be placed on my grave with the customary epitaph.

whose soul God have pardon'.⁸⁹⁴ Many pre-Reformation tombs such as Beverley's included some depiction of the deceased; as 'it was the human form which prompted commemoration and jogged the memory'.⁸⁹⁵ Beverley included his educational qualifications in his epitaph and, similarly to many who were buried at Lincoln Cathedral, was proud of his status and therefore described himself not just as a canon but also as 'a residentiary canon of this church'.⁸⁹⁶ The words chosen to present one's post-mortem identity provide a useful indication of how they wished to be viewed by visitors to their tombs. Miri Rubin has described the importance of names as badges of identity in the later medieval period; an inscription on a tomb would have been seen by the person wishing to be commemorated as a personal expression of their identity within a communal context.⁸⁹⁷ The date of Beverley's death also formed a prominent part of his inscription, in order to encourage prayer on his anniversary, alongside a poignant humble petition for God to have mercy on his soul.⁸⁹⁸ The person being commemorated would have hoped that the identity presented by their monument, emphasising their desire for prayers, would have been sufficient to encourage future generations to remember them.

The attempt to secure a continuous flow of prayers for the deceased in order to shorten the period of purification in purgatory was most likely the main motivating factor for the commissioning of funeral monuments.⁸⁹⁹ This is clearer on some of the inscriptions on the monuments of the Lincoln Cathedral close inhabitants which vary from the standard pattern and go further in their attempts to solicit prayer. The brass of Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453) engraved in 1454 in the cathedral featured a four verse poem:

Passed his pilgrimage out of this present lyf
 Resteth Sir Philip Tilney, closed in your sight.
 In youth esquier; and so wedded to his wyf,
 The daughter & heyr of Edmund Thorpe knight.

⁸⁹⁴ Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 32. This inscription has been rendered into modern English by Sanderson.

⁸⁹⁵ Marshall, *Beliefs*, 21.

⁸⁹⁶ *BCSG*, 136.

⁸⁹⁷ Rubin, 'Identities', 386.

⁸⁹⁸ Marshall, *Beliefs*, 23.

⁸⁹⁹ Norris, 'Monumental Brasses', 184.

And aunt to Thomas lord Scales; descended of lyne right,
 Dysposed hym after to Godys ordynance.
 Full noble & lyberal was he to every wyght;
 Couth none fynd in hym matter of displesaunce.

Here he lyeth buryd, canon & residentiary;
 Sometyme of patrimony suffycient indede.
 But deth, that from hyr nature may not vary
 Hath seis'd him before; & we must all succede.

Consyder here a caryon wormes to fede,
 And pray for his soule of payne to have a lysse;
 And doo for hym as thou woldest he dyd for thy nede;
 Now Jesu, for thy passion bryng hym to thy blysee.⁹⁰⁰

In addition to the inscription written in Middle English, there was also a circumscription in Latin:

Hic jacet Philippus Tilney, canonicus & residentiarius ecclesie B. Marie
 Lincoln. nuper armiger; filius Henrici Tilney armigeri filii Philippi Tilney
 militis; ac maritatus Isabelle, uni filiarum Edmundi Thorpe de Ashwell-
 Thorpe, in com. Norf. & Johanne domine de Scales nuper consortis
 ejusdem Edmundi. Qui obiit penultimo die mensis Octobris, anno
 Domini m^o,cccc,liij. Cujus anime propitiatur Deus, amen.⁹⁰¹

This poem cleverly involved the reader in the 'story' of Tilney's life, his early years in the secular world where he was connected with a powerful gentry family 'descended of lyne right' and Tilney was portrayed as a good and worthy esquire. His later status as a member of the clergy was referred to before the reader was reminded of the common destiny and identity of living and dead which Tilney

⁹⁰⁰ Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 18-19.

⁹⁰¹ Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 18: Here lies Philip Tilney, canon and residentiary in the church of St Mary, Lincoln, lately esquire; son of Henry Tilney, esquire son of Philip Tilney, knight; and also married to Isabelle, one of the daughters of Edmund Thorpe of Ashwellthorpe in the county of Norfolk and Joan, Lady of Scales, lately consort of the same Edmund. Who died on the 30th October 1453. On whose soul may God have mercy. Amen'.

clearly hoped would arouse the pity of future generations and move them to prayer and remembrance. The inclusion of a short summary of the key details of Tilney's status, heritage, marriage and death in Latin as well as the Middle English poem suggests a desire to appeal to all potential prayer benefactors, those who understood Latin and those who did not. The inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close effectively 'wove themselves into the liturgy'; their images and inscriptions appeared in the church on brasses and as effigies and etchings on tombs in order to elicit prayers to speed their souls through purgatory.⁹¹² Analysis of Sanderson's list of monumental inscriptions indicates that the largest numbers of monuments were commissioned in the fifteenth century; this suggests that remembrance was a key consideration during this period. In this way, they were continuing the commemorative culture that had developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and joining the community of deceased members of the cathedral brethren.

Charitable giving to the poor, sick and prisoners

There was no official organised system of poor relief in the middle ages, rather a system of voluntary relief which was 'informed by the commandments of religion and characterised by the belief that almsgiving was, for the donor, a way to salvation'.⁹¹³ In the thirteenth century Church synods and councils had exhorted the faithful to remember the poor in their wills.⁹¹⁴ This tradition of making provision for the poor had clearly retained its importance in the fifteenth century as eighteen clergy testators made at least one bequest to the poor and many made more than one type of bequest. Some of these gifts were bequeathed without conditions, such as the 6s left by William Dighton (chaplain of the chantry of Hugh of Wells) to be distributed between the poor after his death.⁹¹⁵ Over half of the testators outlined conditions concerning their gifts for the poor; eight testators made provision only for those poor people attending their funeral and a further four testators made provision solely for those poor people attending

⁹¹² Burgess, '“Longing”', 64.

⁹¹³ E. Clark, 'Charitable bequests, deathbed land sales, and the manor court in later medieval England' in Z Razi and R. Smith (eds.), *Medieval society and the manor court* (Oxford, 1996), 143.

⁹¹⁴ Mollat, *Poor*, 155.

⁹¹⁵ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 18v.

either their obit or twelfth day services. This seems to have been common practice.⁹⁰⁶ There was also awareness amongst the testators that they wanted to provide aid only to the “worthy” poor. This reflected contemporary thinking about the deserving and undeserving poor. John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) made a variety of charitable bequests in his will. He bequeathed 4d each to twelve poor people carrying torches at his funeral and 1d to each poor person present at his funeral but he also stated that the residue of his goods were to be used to provide scholarships for poor scholars at Oxford, for the repair of roads and bridges and for relief of the poor who became poor not through their own fault or negligence.⁹⁰⁷ The poor who were unable to work to support themselves were considered worthy of assistance but the poor who were unwilling to work were not considered deserving of sympathy or aid.⁹⁰⁸

A small number of testators made more specific provision for the needy. An important theme in charitable giving was the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy: burial, feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, receiving the stranger, visiting the sick and helping those in prison.⁹⁰⁹ Pat Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg’s study of wills in fifteenth-century York suggests that a significant proportion of the charitable provision was conceived in terms of these Seven Works.⁹¹⁰ Four residentiary canons and dignitaries made bequests explicitly to prisoners. Some testators provided targeted relief to feed the hungry; William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501) specified that 2s was to be given to each of the prisoners in the castle in meat and drink to pray for his soul and also an amount at the discretion of his executors was to be given to the prisoners of the city (although he did not specify which prison he wanted to support), depending upon their necessity and the cause of their imprisonment.⁹¹¹ Skelton provided immensely detailed charitable provision in his will. This included a particularly munificent arrangement, namely that for the duration of a year after his burial,

⁹⁰⁶ P. Horden, ‘Small beer? The parish and the poor and sick in late medieval England’, in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds.), *The parish in late medieval England* (Donington, 2006), 354.

⁹⁰⁷ LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 86v-87r (later foliation).

⁹⁰⁸ M. McIntosh, ‘Local responses to the poor in late medieval and Tudor England’, *Continuity and Change*, 3/2 (1988), 210.

⁹⁰⁹ Daniell, *Death*, 18.

⁹¹⁰ P. Cullum and P. Goldberg, ‘Charitable provision in late medieval York: “to the praise of God and the use of the poor”’, *Northern History*, 29 (1993), 28.

⁹¹¹ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14v.

every week “to be dalt ij s to presoners or poor men or women or to them that lyse bedriden or to them that is seke or blynde oth[e]r in mete, money, bred, Fyssh or flessch”.⁹¹²

Friars

By the fifteenth century there were four orders of friars living in Lincoln. Individual or groups of benefactors and guilds collaborated in providing sites for the friars and financing the building of their churches and domestic quarters.⁹¹³ The Franciscan friars (also known as grey friars or Friars Minors) were established earliest at Lincoln, before 1230, and shortly afterwards were granted the site of the old city guildhall on Broadgate.⁹¹⁴ The Dominican friars (also known as black friars or Friars Preachers) were next to settle in Lincoln, before 1238, obtaining a site to the east of the city in Silvergate outside Pottergate.⁹¹⁵ The Lincoln house of Carmelite friars (also known as the white friars or Our Lady friars) was founded by 1269 in the southern suburb of Wigford.⁹¹⁶ The Augustinian or Austin friars settled in Newport, the suburb to the north of the city, at about the same time as the Carmelites.⁹¹⁷

Monetary bequests were made by 29 clerical testators to all of the four orders of friars in Lincoln but they did not always give the same amount to each order; William Docking, chaplain, left 20d to the white friars, 20d to the Augustinian friars on Newport, 3s 4d to the Dominican friars and 3s 4d to the friars minor.⁹¹⁸ Only two testators made a specific bequest to a single order; for example, William Gash left £5 to the Franciscan friars for performing his chantry.⁹¹⁹ Other testators left the money with conditions attached like John Edderston

⁹¹² LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 13v.

⁹¹³ C. Lawrence, *The friars: the impact of the early mendicant movement on Western society* (London, 1994), 108.

⁹¹⁴ A. Little, ‘The grey friars of Lincoln’ in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history*, 222; Hill, *Lincoln*, 149.

⁹¹⁵ A. Little, ‘The black friars of Lincoln’ in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history*, 150.

⁹¹⁶ A. Little, ‘The white friars of Lincoln’ in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history*, 224; Hill, *Lincoln*, 150-151.

⁹¹⁷ A. Little, ‘The Austin friars of Lincoln’ in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history*, 219; Hill, *Lincoln*, 151.

⁹¹⁸ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 21v.

⁹¹⁹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 149r.

(prebendary of Leighton Manor 1427-1455) who bequeathed 10s to each order of friars provided that they attended his funeral and John Crosby (treasurer 1448-1477) who bequeathed 6s 8d to each order that celebrated his obit on his anniversary.⁹²⁰ William Skelton again made particularly specific provision for his gift to the four orders of friars in Lincoln, leaving the sum of 10s which was to be split in the following ways: 6s 8d to be used for the reparation of their lodgings, 20d for a supper or dinner between them and others and 20d to poor friars without a salary or income, who rely only on alms, and this was to be distributed amongst them after the discretion of their priors or wardens.⁹²¹ Skelton's bequest suggests that he had particular ideas about what the most pressing concerns were for the friars, such as the repair of their churches and ensuring that the poorest friars were provided for. Only four clergy testators made bequests to friars in other locations, such as Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453) who left 20s to each order of mendicant friars in the town of Boston.⁹²²

The position of the friars in the medieval town was different from that of both the secular clergy and other religious due to their habitual mingling with the population and their dependence upon the daily alms of those they came into contact with for material support.⁹²³ Some secular clergy had cooperated with the friars, such as Robert Grosseteste, who, prior to his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, had trained the Franciscan friars in theology at Oxford in the early 1230s.⁹²⁴ There were also examples of discord between friars and secular clergy; for example in 1424 a Franciscan friar, William Russell, whilst preaching in Stamford, denounced tithes as contrary to the law of God.⁹²⁵ Some hostility had been displayed towards the friars from other members of the secular clergy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; they regarded the friars as intruding into the area of their spiritual jurisdiction and also providing competition for testators'

⁹²⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 36r; LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 86v (later foliation).

⁹²¹ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 14r.

⁹²² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 21v.

⁹²³ D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England: volume II, the end of the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1955), 90-91.

⁹²⁴ M. Robson, *The Franciscans in the middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 62.

⁹²⁵ Owen, *Church*, 89.

religious allegiances and therefore bequests.⁹²⁶ However, by the late fifteenth century in Lincoln, about half of the clergy were bequeathing money to their friar brethren, mostly lower clergy such as chantry chaplains and vicars choral who had perhaps been educated by the friars' teaching, but also dignitaries. The evidence suggests that the sermons of the friars were engaging and well-argued and that they were in demand as confessors due to their sufficiently learned status.⁹²⁷ The friars had offered doctrinal and moral instruction both to the clergy as well as the laity and given a new orientation to Western theology and philosophy.⁹²⁸ The friars appear to have been successful because they filled a particular gap in the late medieval religion market – as a new body of well informed, highly trained and devoted pastors operating parallel to the established secular clergy.⁹²⁹

Monasteries and hospitals

In contrast to the generous provision and obvious affection for the friars, the Lincoln Cathedral close testators appear to have had fewer connections with hospitals and monasteries. Medieval almshouses and hospitals were usually attached to monastic establishments and provided care for sick poor but also board and lodging for travellers.⁹³⁰ Worship was an important part of hospital life; inmates were expected to pray for the patrons and benefactors of the hospital thus rewarding their charity.⁹³¹ Hospitals regarded themselves as charities and therefore expected to be remembered by pious testators in their wills.⁹³² In fifteenth-century Lincoln and its suburbs there were four local hospitals. None of these were situated inside the city walls but St Giles' hospital lay near to the close, just to its north-east. It had been founded by Bishop Sutton (Bishop of Lincoln 1280-1299) c.1280 to care for old and ill vicars choral, and it was patronised by

⁹²⁶ Lawrence, *Friars*, 107.

⁹²⁷ F. Andrews, *The other friars, the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied friars in the middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 140.

⁹²⁸ Lawrence, *Friars*, 227.

⁹²⁹ Lawrence, *Friars*, 221.

⁹³⁰ N. Goose, 'The English almshouse and the mixed economy of welfare: medieval to modern', *The Local Historian*, 40/1 (2010), 3.

⁹³¹ N. Orme and M. Webster, *The English hospital 1070-1570* (London, 1995), 49.

⁹³² Orme and Webster, *English hospital*, 97.

the cathedral chapter, which benefited directly from it.⁹³³ As patrons, the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral regularly nominated inmates to St Giles' Hospital throughout the fifteenth century.⁹³⁴ The other hospitals were in the suburb of Wigford: St Sepulchre's hospital which was part of St Katherine's priory, the Hospital of the Holy Innocents (also known as 'The Malandry') and St Mary Magdalene's Hospital, Hartsholme (see Figure 27 for a map showing Lincoln's medieval hospitals).⁹³⁵ Medieval hospitals fulfilled a wide range of obligations such as the provision of hospitality for pilgrims and for the poor, orphaned and sick; it was widely believed that the sick and poor should spend time in hospital in pursuit of a communal life to pray for the souls of others.⁹³⁶ There were only four clerical bequests made to hospitals and these were only for small amounts of money: three bequests were made to St Giles' hospital, such as that of Robert Mason (precentor 1482-1493) who bequeathed 12d to each poor man from that hospital carrying a torch on the day of his burial and wearing black.⁹³⁷ Geoffrey Simeon (dean 1506-1508) made a bequest of 20s to the hospital of San Spirito in Rome. The specificity of this bequest to a hospital in a foreign country suggests that he had a connection with this hospital at some point in his life.⁹³⁸ There is evidence that citizens of Lincoln undertook pilgrimages to Rome in the late medieval period, so perhaps Simeon visited the hospital as part of a spiritual journey.⁹³⁹ This idea is reinforced by the fact that Geoffrey Simeon's name was inscribed in the *Liber Fraternitas* of the hospital of San Spirito in Sassia, Rome on 4 April 1491.⁹⁴⁰

There are five clerical bequests of small amounts of money and household items, such as sheets to St Katherine's priory outside Lincoln, but the testators seemed to be bequeathing the money to the priory when the language of their bequests suggests that it was meant for St Sepulchre's hospital, which had been assimilated

⁹³³ Lepine, 'Cathedrals and Charity', 1074.

⁹³⁴ See for example A/2/34, fos 24r, 52v, 53r, 66v, 70v, 71r, 80r.

⁹³⁵ See the illustration of all known parish churches, hospitals and monastic precincts in medieval Lincoln in: Vince, 'The New Town', 250.

⁹³⁶ E. Prescott, *The English medieval hospital, c.1050-1640* (Melksham, 1992), 2-3.

⁹³⁷ LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 88r.

⁹³⁸ TNA Prob/11/16, fo. 26v.

⁹³⁹ See Kissane, *Identities*, 151.

⁹⁴⁰ BRUO3, 1702.

to the priory.⁹⁴¹ Take for example the bequest of Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453): 'Item lego sororibus Sancte Katherine extra Lincolnium [ut] custodient pupillos orphanos et infirmos iij s iij d'.⁹⁴² It seems unusual that there are not more bequests to St Katherine's from the testators in this sample, as the hospital's association with the priory, along with its position just outside the city gates, brought the community into closer connections with public affairs than with other Gilbertine houses.⁹⁴³ Also, this religious order originated in Lincolnshire, founded by Gilbert of Sempringham in the twelfth century, so one might have expected some local loyalty to the order.⁹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Brian Golding asserts that St Katherine's maintained a steady level of benefactions until the Dissolution.⁹⁴⁵ He attributes this, in part, to the fact that medieval Lincoln was comparatively under-provided with hospitals; there were only four in the fifteenth century compared with nine in the much smaller town of Beverley, for example.⁹⁴⁶ Perhaps St Katherine's, which was almost two miles south of the cathedral, was too far removed from the close for most testators to warrant a bequest. The testators preferred to concentrate their funds more directly on organisations that had benefited them most in their life, such as the friars, or they might have felt that St Katherine's was already well endowed enough to support itself.

The latter reason might be more plausible, considering that nine members of the clergy made bequests to nineteen abbeys and convents outside Lincoln. Most of these were situated locally in Lincolnshire though, for example, William Gash (clerk) left 10s to Stixwold Priory, which would have been almost twenty miles south-west of the cathedral.⁹⁴⁷ However, other testators made bequests further afield such as Robert Mason (precentor, 1482-1493) who bequeathed 10 marks to

⁹⁴¹ B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c. 1130-c.1300* (Oxford, 1995), 239.

⁹⁴² LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 21v: 'I give to the sisters of St Katherine's without Lincoln taking care of orphans and ill people 3s 4d'.

⁹⁴³ R. Cole, 'The Priory of St Katherine without Lincoln, of the Order of St Gilbert of Sempringham', *Lincolnshire Archaeological and Architectural Society Reports and Papers*, 27/2 (1904), 267.

⁹⁴⁴ D. Knowles, *The monastic order in England: a history of its development from the times of St. Dunstan to the fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963), 205-207.

⁹⁴⁵ Golding, *Sempringham*, 233.

⁹⁴⁶ Golding, *Sempringham*, 233.

⁹⁴⁷ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 149r.

Edward Luke and 6 marks to William Luke, monastery of St Albans and 6 marks to the sisters of St Albans and 20d to each canon at Alnwick abbey and to the abbot 3s 4d.⁹⁴⁸ His bequests to named persons or groups within the monasteries indicate that Mason had connections with the communities. The small number of bequests to monasteries seems surprising, considering that there were almost 60 religious houses, excluding hospitals and colleges, in Lincolnshire in the late medieval period.⁹⁴⁹ The results show a similar pattern to Alison McHardy's study of 73 late medieval Eton College wills that comprised only three bequests to religious houses.⁹⁵⁰ This appears to be a wider trend; Martin Heale has indicated that bequests to monasteries for prayers occurred only in ten to twenty per cent of wills in fifteenth-century England.⁹⁵¹

The position of the monastery has been considered by some historians to be less important in the fifteenth century than it had been in, for example, the twelfth century.⁹⁵² However, other historians, notably James Clarke, have attempted to counter the assumption that there was widespread decline of monastic orders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁹⁵³ It should be noted, however, that this discussion relates mainly to the larger religious houses and was perhaps not so true for smaller ones, such as St Katherine's. On the other hand, decline might not have been such an important factor behind the reluctance of testators to make bequests to monasteries. This might have been more related to the fact that fashions for pious bequests were changing in the later medieval period. Pious giving from testators to monasteries was supplanted by gifts to their local parishes.⁹⁵⁴ In addition, the numbers of religious fell in the fourteenth century and as a result there would have been fewer members of the community available to celebrate Masses and say prayers in return for bequests, so perhaps well-

⁹⁴⁸ LCL D&C A/3/1, fo. 88r.

⁹⁴⁹ S. Elspeth, 'The religious houses of Lincolnshire' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history*, 78-79.

⁹⁵⁰ McHardy, 'Eton College wills', 389.

⁹⁵¹ M. Heale, *The dependent priories of medieval English monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004), 205.

⁹⁵² See Knowles, *Religious orders*, 280.

⁹⁵³ J. Clarke, 'Introduction: The religious orders in pre-reformation England' in J. Clark (ed.), *The religious orders in pre-reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 6-22.

⁹⁵⁴ M. Heale, *Monasticism in late medieval England c.1300-1535* (Manchester, 2009), 40; M. Hicks, 'The rising price of piety in the later middle ages' in J. Burton and K. Stöber (eds.), *Monasteries and society in the British Isles in the later middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2008), 96.

endowed houses would not have been actively seeking patrons.⁹⁵⁵ Geography would also have been a consideration; few of the religious houses were in Lincoln and so unless a Lincoln Cathedral close testator had previously lived in the vicinity of another religious house, or had a kinship connection with a member of that community, it is unlikely that they would have had a direct influence on them. The monasteries were not involved in community life, and would have seemed more remote to the Lincoln Cathedral close testators.

Anchorites and recluses

The presence of recluses or anchorites reflects a contemporary trend towards embracing the solitary life.⁹⁵⁶ Ann Warren's study of English anchorites 1100-1539 indicates that there was evidence for the existence of 214 anchorites in the fourteenth century, 204 anchorites in the fifteenth and 68 in the sixteenth century.⁹⁵⁷ Anchorites were free of monastic obedience and pledged to live ascetic, solitary lives, praying for the communities they lived in and permanently inhabiting cells attached to parish churches.⁹⁵⁸ The church known as Holy Trinity, situated on Greestone stairs, in Lincoln had been the home of a female recluse at least since the 1380s.⁹⁵⁹ The anchorite situated just outside the cathedral close, whom Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453) referred to in 1452 as Matilda, recluse within the church of Holy Trinity, only received small monetary bequests from six members of the clergy, such as the 12d bequeathed by John Watson (chaplain of the Flemming chantry 1483-1502).⁹⁶⁰ It was usual for anchorites such as Matilda to be attached to a church in order that she would derive some spiritual advantages from it, and also to confer spiritual benefits upon the parish.⁹⁶¹ Holy Trinity church was situated south-west of the cathedral, within the medieval suburb of Butwerk, the other side of the close wall,⁹⁶² but the Lincoln Cathedral close testators may not have had much awareness of the anchorite. This is a contrast to Norwich, where there was an almost continuous

⁹⁵⁵ Heale, *Monasticism*, 6-7.

⁹⁵⁶ Andrews, *The other friars*, 222.

⁹⁵⁷ A. Warren, *Anchorites and their patrons in medieval England* (California, 1985), 20.

⁹⁵⁸ Warren, *Anchorites*, 7.

⁹⁵⁹ Warren, *Anchorites*, 221.

⁹⁶⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 22r; LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 50v.

⁹⁶¹ R. Clay, *The hermits and anchorites of England* (London, 1914), 73.

⁹⁶² Vince, 'The new town', 234.

sequence of hermits, anchorites and, uniquely in late medieval England, communities of laywomen resembling European beguinages; these institutions received a total of eighteen bequests between 1440 and 1489.⁹⁶³ Therefore the Lincoln testators were more concerned with recognising groups who had influenced their lives in a more personal way, for example the teaching mendicant orders rather than anchorites with whom they may have had little contact.

Laywomen

Throughout the late medieval period, piety was seen as a particular attribute of the female; the role of women as nurturers of their families meant that they were identified more closely with the observation of religious rites during life.⁹⁶⁴ However, the dominant culture in late medieval England was essentially patriarchal and this limited the opportunities open to involve women in all aspects of medieval life, including religion.⁹⁶⁵ The religious gifts of women are particularly interesting, as women were largely excluded from holding public authority within the male dominated hierarchy of the Church.⁹⁶⁶ In addition, women were further restricted by the law in terms of what they could bequeath. When a woman married, everything she owned and acquired after the marriage in terms of lands, property and goods, legally belonged to her husband and she could not make a will without her husband's permission, since without his assent, a woman would not have had any goods to bequeath.⁹⁶⁷ This was supported by canon law which emphasised the fact that the husband's rule over his wife was the will of God.⁹⁶⁸ There does appear to have been male consciousness of a concept endorsed by canon law that chattels such as clothes and jewellery were so personal to his wife, that whilst he could treat them as he wished during his

⁹⁶³ Tanner, *Church*, 223.

⁹⁶⁴ Peters, *Patterns*, 49.

⁹⁶⁵ Goldberg, 'Women', 112.

⁹⁶⁶ N. Lowe, 'Women's devotional bequests of textiles in the late medieval English parish church, c.1350-1550', *Gender & History*, 22/2 (2010), 407.

⁹⁶⁷ D. Elliott, 'Marriage' in C. Dinshaw and D. Wallace (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to medieval women's writing* (Cambridge, 2003), 44; J. Loengard, ' "Plate, good stuff, and household things": husbands, wives, and chattels in England at the end of the middle ages', *The Ricardian*, 13 (2003), 328.

⁹⁶⁸ Elliott, 'Marriage', 45.

lifetime, the husband could not bequeath them at his wife's death.⁹⁶⁹ So the items bequeathed by married women would reflect only items that, in the eyes of their husband, they were entitled to 'own'. As mentioned previously, in this sample of wills, there are only eight from female testators and of these, four described themselves as laywomen, three as widows and one as a wife.

Religious bequests

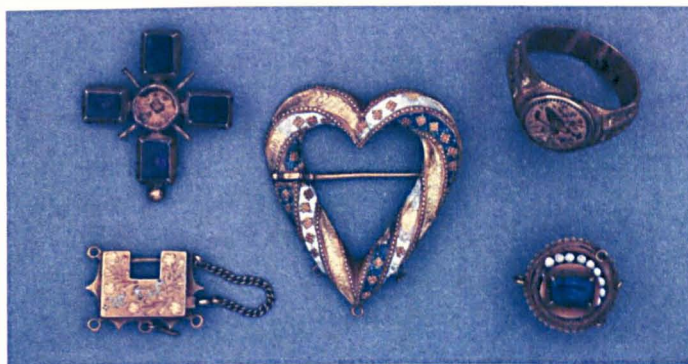


Figure 23: Jewellery from the Fishpool hoard, deposited in Spring 1464, gold with various stones (Taken from J. Cherry, 'Dress and adornment' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds) *Gothic Art*, 331).

The pious bequests made by the female testators of Lincoln Cathedral close are quite distinctive. Goods were not as firmly controlled by law as property and cash and their disbursal indicated the testator's personal regard for the beneficiary. It was a public pronouncement of the relationship between testator and beneficiary.⁹⁷⁰ The most popular bequests were items of jewellery; six of the female testators donated at least one piece of jewellery or set of prayer beads made out of precious stones to Lincoln Cathedral. Examples of jewellery from the late fifteenth century can be seen in Figure 23. Prayer beads were popular in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, made from a variety of materials and varying in number of beads and their arrangement, but used to count sets of prayers recited by the owner, usually a combination of the common prayers *Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*.⁹⁷¹ Examples of near contemporary prayer beads can be seen in Figure 24. There were four bequests of prayer beads such as Maud

⁹⁶⁹ J. Loengard, '“Which may be said to be her own”: widows and goods in late-medieval England', in M. Kowaleski and P. Goldberg (eds.), *Medieval domesticity: home, housing and household in medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008), 162-176; Loengard, '“Plate”', 333.

⁹⁷⁰ K. French, *The good women of the parish: gender and religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia, 2007), 37.

⁹⁷¹ J. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (London, 2002), 102.

Lawson's (widow) bequest of her best pair of coral beads to Lincoln Cathedral.⁹⁷² Margaret Deve (laywoman) bequeathed a silver ring to the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral, as did Katherine Goderic (laywoman), while Ellen Retford (widow of Henry Retford, knight) bequeathed a gold chain and other items of gold jewellery to the high altar of the cathedral.⁹⁷³ These women clearly identified their jewellery as being valuable and useful commodities worth bequeathing to the Church.



Figure 24: Rosary beads, c.1500, beads of turned wood on a modern string, gold, engraved and enamelled (Taken from S. Foster, 'Private devotion' in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds) *Gothic art*, 343).

According to Katherine French, gifts of beads and jewellery 'spoke to women's shared experiences as women and their ability to forge connections between that experience and their piety'.⁹⁷⁴ French's survey of the published wills of Bath, Wells and Lincoln 1327-1536 suggests that women left personal or household goods to their parishes twice as often as men.⁹⁷⁵ This was not the case everywhere in Europe; Martha Howell's study of testators in late medieval Douai concluded that they were reluctant to give moveable objects to the Church, preferring instead to bequeath monetary gifts, which connected them to the Church in a

⁹⁷² LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 71v.

⁹⁷³ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 111r; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 128r; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v.

⁹⁷⁴ French, *Parish*, 48.

⁹⁷⁵ French, *Parish*, 38.

more abstract way.⁹⁷⁶ In Lincoln, however, these women appeared eager to associate themselves with the cathedral in personal and visible ways through donation of their moveable property.⁹⁷⁷

There were also examples from the bequests of women bequeathing household items to the cathedral or parish churches. Maud Lawson (widow) bequeathed to the high altar of Lincoln Cathedral an altar cloth of plain cloth and a swell of diaper as well as gifting her best coral beads and her best girdle to the fabric of the cathedral.⁹⁷⁸ Another testator, Margaret Hatton (wife of William Hatton) bequeathed twenty yards of linen sheet to the abbot of the convent of Topholme.⁹⁷⁹ The fabric was clearly destined for use on altars where Mass would have been celebrated. The consecrated altar, which was essential for the Eucharistic celebration, became a special object of pious attention in the later middle ages, when devotion to the sacrament of the Eucharist was strong.⁹⁸⁰ Christine Peters has suggested that female piety was characterised by the intimate relationship of the woman with the article she bequeathed and how easily these items could be transformed into sacred items for holy purposes.⁹⁸¹ These items would have held personal meanings, but also formed part of their public identity as virtuous and modest homemakers.⁹⁸² By adapting household items such as fabric into materials that would form part of the liturgy effectively connected women's work to the worship of God.⁹⁸³ These gifts would have strengthened the associations between individuals and the Church and made symbolic connections possible; between the testator's family home and their spiritual home and also between domestic ritual and the ceremony of the Eucharistic

⁹⁷⁶ M. Howell, 'Fixing moveables: gifts by testament in late medieval Douai', *Past and Present*, 150/1 (1996), 36.

⁹⁷⁷ French, *Parish*, 38.

⁹⁷⁸ LCL D&C A/3/3, 71v.

⁹⁷⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, 48.

⁹⁸⁰ J. Ford, 'Art and identity in the parish communities of late medieval Kent' in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and the art: papers read at the 1990 summer meeting and the 1991 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Oxford, 1992), 228.

⁹⁸¹ Peters, *Patterns*, 52.

⁹⁸² Lowe, 'Women's devotional bequests', 408.

⁹⁸³ K. French, 'Women in the late medieval English parish' in M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Gendering the master narrative: women and power in the middle ages* (New York, 2003), 162.

communion.⁹⁸⁴ The evidence for the female testators of Lincoln Cathedral close appears to concur with French's findings; namely that women used their notions of home economy and domesticity to act out their piety. Women's gifts to their parish or, in the case of this study, cathedral, reflected how they identified with their material goods and household possessions.⁹⁸⁵

Commemoration and Charity

The eight female testators from Lincoln Cathedral close did not appear to have focused their post-mortem provision on commemoration in contrast to the prominence of this concept in the wills of the clergy. There is evidence of some interest in remembrance; a wealthy laywoman Alice Gray (alias Paynter, laywoman) bequeathed 10s for a trental at the monastery of Charterhouse, on the Isle of Axholme.⁹⁸⁶ However aside from this, there are no requests in the wills for elaborate funeral processions, provision for Masses for the benefit of their souls or monuments to elicit prayers in their memory. It might have been the case that some of the women had made provision prior to death; for example the chapter acts reveal that on 15 November 1455, Margaret Hatton and her husband William Hatton had been granted permission to have their tombs in the cathedral after their deaths, for a fee of 20s to the Dean and Chapter, and because this had already been organised, it was not mentioned in their wills.⁹⁸⁷ It is important not to read too much into the lack of evidence for commemoration, as this is an extremely small sample of female testators and there is other evidence that some late medieval women did organise commemorative practices for themselves and, if they were married, their deceased husbands.⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁴ C. Richardson, 'Household objects and domestic ties' in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The medieval household in Christian Europe c.850-c.1550: managing power, wealth, and the body* (Turnhout, 2003), 438.

⁹⁸⁵ French, 'Women', 160.

⁹⁸⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 117v. A trental was a set of requiem Masses, said on one day or every day for 30 days, and most of these were arranged to begin on the day of the deceased's burial. See: C. W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln wills registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln, volume 1: A. D. 1271 to A.D. 1526* (Lincoln, 1914), 247.

⁹⁸⁷ LCL D&C A/3/4, 52v.

⁹⁸⁸ See, for example, C. Steer, 'Commemoration and women in medieval London', in M. Davies and A. Prescott (eds.) *London and the kingdom: essays in honour of Caroline M. Barron* (Donington, 2008), 230-245; B. Harris, 'The fabric of piety: aristocratic women and the care of the dead, 1450-1550', *Journal of British Studies*, 48/2 (2009), 308-335; J. Helt, 'Women, memory and will-making in Elizabethan England' in B. Gordon and P.

In terms of charitable provision, the female cathedral close testators made several small bequests; there were several small bequests to religious organisations and people in the wills. All of the female testators, except Margaret Deve (laywoman) made at least one bequest to a parish church. Ellen Retford (widow of Henry Retford, knight) appears to have had connections in Cheshire, as she bequeathed a green, damask vestment to the parish church of Eastham and a ruby coloured vestment with a cope to the parish church of Broughton.⁹⁸⁹ The majority of the laywomen bequeathed money to churches in Lincoln: St Margaret's in the close received two bequests and St Mary Magdalene and Holy Trinity churches, which were just outside the close, received three bequests between them. Retford also showed concern for the local religious, bequeathing 3s 4d to each order of mendicant friars in Lincoln, and the same amount to St Katherine's priory and the anchorite at Holy Trinity church.⁹⁹⁰ Alice Gray (alias Paynter, laywoman) was the only female testator to make a charitable bequest outside Lincoln, making a gift of 3s 4d to the Carthusian Abbey of Charterhouse on the Isle of Axholme, with which she clearly had connections. This small sample does not reflect wider trends from late medieval testamentary evidence, as surveys of larger collections of wills indicate that women were more likely to give charitably than men.⁹⁹¹ Pat Cullum suggests that this is because women, as household providers, were more involved with the giving of charity during their lives and carried on this behaviour through to their post-mortem provision.⁹⁹² Looking at the full texts of the female testators' wills, it seems the most pressing concern was to make provision for their family and friends and because they had more restricted access to money and possessions than laymen, they decided that these were the relationships that they wanted to honour.⁹⁹³

Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 188-205.

⁹⁸⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v.

⁹⁹⁰ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95v.

⁹⁹¹ For example, see P. Cullum, '“And hir name was charite”: charitable giving by and for women in late medieval Yorkshire', in P. Goldberg (ed.), *Woman is a worthy wight: women in English society c.1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992), 182-211; Helt, 'Women', 200-205.

⁹⁹² Cullum, '“And hir name”', 184.

⁹⁹³ See Chapter 3, 201-203.

Laymen

Late medieval attitudes to gender were shaped by classical writings on anatomy and physiology, which advocated that the male species was superior to the female.⁹⁹⁴ Although it is accepted that what constitutes manhood varies according to a society, culture or time period, Vern Bullough has developed a threefold model of lay male identity in the later middle ages. According to Bullough, this was characterised by actions such as impregnating women, protecting dependants and serving as a provider to one's family.⁹⁹⁵ However, alongside this model of masculinity, other constructions of masculinity would have existed, centred on the complex interrelationship between concepts of power, patriarchy and politics. The display of status and how this reflected personal power and influence would have been a key consideration for lay male testators, particularly those belonging to the gentry class and the nobility. Knights, for example, who had adhered to the ideology of chivalry, which emphasised the honour and importance of the knight,⁹⁹⁶ would have wanted to ensure that their post-mortem provision was befitting of their elite social status.

Religious bequests

From surveying the lay male wills, it seems that although all of the laymen made at least one religious bequest, the majority of these took the form of a series of small monetary bequests to the cathedral and local churches, such as Christopher Thomson (layman), who bequeathed 12d to the fabric of the cathedral, 12d to St Mary Magdalene for forgotten tithes, 6d to St Nicholas in Newport and 6d to St Paul in the Bailgate.⁹⁹⁷ St Mary Magdalene's was the most popular church aside from the cathedral, with ten male testators making at least one bequest each to it. This was most probably for reasons of proximity; the church was situated just

⁹⁹⁴ V. Bullough, 'On being a male in the middle ages' in C. Lees, T. Fenster and J. McNamara (eds.) *Medieval Masculinities: regarding men in the middle ages* (London, 1994), 31.

⁹⁹⁵ Bullough, 'On being a male', 34.

⁹⁹⁶ R. Karras, *From boys to men: formations of masculinity in late medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2002), 24.

⁹⁹⁷ LCL D&C A/3/3/, fo. 67r.

outside the gate of the close, only 250 feet from the west entrance of the cathedral. The parish of Mary Magdalene occupied the eastern and northern half of the close. The bequest of small amounts of money suggests a slightly less personal relationship with these churches than bequeathing items that had been owned or commissioned for a particular use within the church.

Six of the laymen made bequests of religious items. Two of these bequests were similar to those made by the female close testators.⁹⁹⁸ William Lathbury (layman) bequeathed a silver ring and a gilded piece of jewellery to the parish church of Eggington (Bedfordshire) and William Walkar (layman) bequeathed a pair of amber beads to the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral.⁹⁹⁹ Robert Strickland (goldsmith) bequeathed a crown of gilt brass to the guild of St Anne, which may have been related to the role of the guild in the organisation of devotional processions and plays through Lincoln annually on St Anne's day.¹⁰⁰⁰ This is an unusual bequest, as a crown was not an everyday household object so it could have been the case that Strickland had fashioned this crown himself, with the express purpose of bequeathing this specific item to the guild. In this way, Strickland would have been linking his craft as a goldsmith with a pious act of charity to the guild. This meaningful act would have ensured that Strickland's offering would have been part of an important expression of communal piety, which was repeated annually, for years following his death. In this way, Strickland would have remained part of the community after his death.

⁹⁹⁸ See above, 259-261.

⁹⁹⁹ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88 (later pagination); LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134v.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See Stokes, 'Staging Wonders', 199.



Figure 25: The Erpingham chasuble, early 15th century (brocaded silk lampas ground Italian 1400-1415; embroidery in silk and silver-gilt thread, English 1400-1430). (Taken from Williamson, 'The parish church', 410).

Thomas Burgh (knight) made an interesting series of bequests that reflected how he used his great personal wealth to support his personal pious preoccupations. Burgh's will is unique in the fact that it provides an exceptional level of detail about his pious priorities. He made some extravagant bequests in his will; he bequeathed some expensive material, blue cloth of gold and black velvet, embroidered with minivers, which was to be made into a cope and a vestment with two tunics for a priest, deacon and subdeacon at Lincoln Cathedral, to be decorated with orfreys and embroidery, as much as he could afford.¹⁰⁰¹ An example of an elaborately embroidered chasuble can be seen in Figure 25. This suggests that throughout Burgh's residence in the close, he had developed a relationship with the cathedral which had impacted upon his spirituality and that he wanted to acknowledge this when making his will over twenty years later,

¹⁰⁰¹ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30v.

providing beautifully decorated attire for the clergy to wear as they celebrated Mass.



Figure 26: Chalice and paten, London hallmark 1479-80, silver-gilt, engraved and enamelled (Taken from Williamson, 'The parish church', 413).

Burgh further indicates an interest in providing for the Mass with the bequest of a purple vestment that he already owned, which he wanted to have embellished with cloth of gold at his expense, to be given to the high altar of his parish church in Gainsborough.¹⁰⁰² His bequest here intimates his role as a patron of his local parish church, in which he had recently built a new chapel where he wished to be buried in a tomb along with his wife.¹⁰⁰³ Another string of bequests illustrates an additional major concern for Burgh – his chantry in All Saints parish church, Gainsborough. To this Burgh bequeathed a Mass book, a chalice, his best grail, the antiphons with a processional, a suit of vestments, white material for altar cloths, a suit of peacock feathers and a cope, a silver candlestick, some silver dishes and a silver paxbred.¹⁰⁰⁴ An example of a similar chalice can be seen in Figure 26. This lavish set of bequests appears to stem from Burgh's profound concern for the continual maintenance of his chantry; this idea is reinforced by the fact that the first two folios of his will are dedicated to the provision of

¹⁰⁰² TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

¹⁰⁰³ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 29v.

¹⁰⁰⁴ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

complex rules and regulations attempting to control every aspect of his chantry masses.¹⁰⁰⁵

Short term commemoration

In contrast to the extravagant funeral processions of the clergy, none of the laymen requested a procession, and only three made provision in their wills for a funeral Mass, leaving money for the priests celebrating or attending.¹⁰⁰⁶ There were two requests for candles or torches; William Dunwyche (layman) left 20d to sustain lights at St Mary Magdalene's and William Lathbury (layman) requested that torches should be burned at his expense in the same church, in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.¹⁰⁰⁷ Lights are significant because quite modest endowments could be made for their maintenance, which meant all social groups would have been able to afford this form of association with the liturgy.¹⁰⁰⁸ John Baildon (layman) and Thomas Hanworth (layman) both requested trentals, although they did not specify where these were to be held and Thomas Coon (layman) made provision for a trental in the cathedral.¹⁰⁰⁹ A trental would have been more affordable than making provision for an obit or a chantry and although these laymen do not state their occupations, the nature of their bequests suggest that the majority of them were significantly less wealthy than the clergy, and so would have been unable to afford the more expensive commemorative practices.

Long term commemoration

Three male lay testators requested a chantry for their souls, as well as for the souls of their family, friends and loved ones: Thomas Burgh (knight) and Thomas Hanworth (layman), who have been mentioned previously, and Ralph Babthorpe (esquire). Burgh's was to be a perpetual chantry, which was to be

¹⁰⁰⁵ TNA Prob/11/10, fos 29v-30r.

¹⁰⁰⁶ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 18r; LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 65v.

¹⁰⁰⁷ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 91v (later foliation); LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88r.

¹⁰⁰⁸ D. Postles, 'Lamps, lights and layfolk: "popular" devotion before the Black Death', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25/2 (1999), 98.

¹⁰⁰⁹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 134r; LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r; LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 18r.

maintained in his parish church of All Saint's, Gainsborough.¹⁰¹⁰ Hanworth requested a chantry to be held for three years in the parish church of St Margaret's within the close. He clearly preferred to centre his commemoration around his parish church rather than the cathedral, as he also requested burial in the choir of this church and wanted his executors to organise a trental of Masses there as well as a chantry.¹⁰¹¹ Babthorpe was the only layman to request a chantry for a year in the cathedral from this sample of wills.¹⁰¹² All of the lay testators requested one chaplain each to serve their chantries and whilst Hanworth and Babthorpe allocated approximately £5 for their chaplain's annual stipend, Burgh assigned the largest annual payment from this sample of wills, committing £10 perpetually to his chantry chaplain, from the endowment of rents from his lordship of Tunstall and other unspecified lands and tenements with their appurtenances.¹⁰¹³

It is interesting to note that the most detailed provision from this sample regarding the organisation and nature of chantries was left by two laymen. Thomas Hanworth (layman) left instructions that his daily commemoration was to take the form of placebo and dirige with commendation and daily Masses according to the ordinal, except for Mass of requiem twice weekly and a special Mass of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ every Friday.¹⁰¹⁴ The most complicated timetable of Masses for a chantry from this sample of wills is in Thomas Burgh's (knight) will. He requested that his chantry chaplain should sing Mass of the Holy Trinity on Sundays, Mass of the Holy Spirit on Mondays, Mass of Mary Magdalene on Tuesdays, Mass of requiem on Wednesdays, Mass of All Saints on Thursdays, Mass of Jesus Christ on Fridays and Mass of St Mary on Saturdays. Before the offertory at each Mass, the chantry chaplain was to say the psalm *De Profundis* with the collect *Festina Fidelius* for the souls of Burgh and his wife, rehearsing their names, and also for the souls of his parents, ancestors and all Christian souls. Principal and high feasts are the only exception to this timetable, when Burgh wanted his chantry chaplain to say Mass of the feast with a remembrance of the Mass that should have been timetabled for that particular

¹⁰¹⁰ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 29v.

¹⁰¹¹ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

¹⁰¹² LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 154v.

¹⁰¹³ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 154v; TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 29v.

¹⁰¹⁴ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

day.¹⁰¹⁵ Burgh was clearly concerned that his perpetual chantry should reflect his personal liturgical tastes and encompass a wide range of personal devotions.

There were a few requests for other types of Mass-centred commemoration; Thomas Burgh (knight) made provision for a perpetual obit, to be held at All Saints' parish church, Gainsborough, for his own soul and that of his wife.¹⁰¹⁶ Burgh made exceedingly detailed provision for his obit, specifying exactly how he wanted the 26s 8d for the obit spent each year: 20d to the vicar of the church at the obit, 12d to each chantry chaplain singing at his obit, 8d to each other priest, 12d to the clerk of the church for ringing the bells, 2d each to five other clerks singing and reading at his obit, 2d to twelve of the poorest men and women of the town and parish to be present annually at his obit and to pray for the souls of him and his wife and the remainder to be spent on wax for lights, bread and ale and other good works of mercy after his obit.¹⁰¹⁷ The specificity of Burgh's requests creates the impression that he was anxious to solicit regular prayers each year for the good of his soul, as he took measures to ensure that people would be aware of his annual ritual of remembrance and to encourage them to attend.

Similarly to the majority of clergy close inhabitants, two laymen wished to be commemorated by a monument after their deaths; Thomas Burgh (knight) and Nicholas Prowett (layman), the nephew of the precentor Alexander Prowett. Burgh requested in his will for a tomb to be built at the north end of the altar of the new chapel he had built in the parish church of Gainsborough. He wanted effigies making of himself, wearing his mantel of the garter with a garter around his leg, bearing arms and of his wife with remembrance of their heraldry and the day of their obits. Burgh's choice to be portrayed carrying a weapon and wearing the insignia of The Most Noble Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry, suggests the importance of his status and has connotations of the traditional chivalric gentleman. This idea is reinforced by Burgh's request to include shields of armour on his monument, to demonstrate his lineage and connections. Heraldry was the language of the gentry class and nobility, who used it to set themselves apart from the lower orders and to differentiate themselves

¹⁰¹⁵ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 29v.

¹⁰¹⁶ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30r.

¹⁰¹⁷ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 30r.

from each other according to the ranks of degree.¹⁰¹⁸ It was also a representation of social success and Burgh's use of heraldry suggests that this was the identity he wished to create from the style of his monument.¹⁰¹⁹ Prowett was buried in Lincoln Cathedral and his monument was a brass plate fixed onto a marble, the inscription is recorded as follows: 'Hic jacet Nicolaus Prouet, nuper nepos Alexandri Prouet, precentoris istius ecclesie; qui obiit decimo nono die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini, MCDLVIII Cujus anime propitiatur Deus, amen'.¹⁰²⁰ This is a fairly standard inscription, although Prowett's reference to his uncle as being the current precentor of the cathedral at the time of his death is interesting. It is possible that by mentioning Alexander Prowett in his memorial inscription, Nicholas Prowett was using his familial connection to a key cathedral dignitary in order to elevate his status, attempting to make himself seem more worthy of prayers, by virtue of this connection.

Charity

Thomas Burgh (knight) made provision for the poor; however he was very specific about the particular poor that he wanted to aid. He requested that his executors should establish in his Gainsborough parish five poor bedesmen, who were to be paid 1d per day to attend Burgh's chantry Masses and pray for his soul. The poor men were to be chosen from those who had done service to him or to his heirs, but could no longer serve or from those who were tenants of him or his heirs and had fallen into poverty. Each bedesman was to receive a new gown every other year priced 3s 4d.¹⁰²¹ This indicates that Burgh's concept of charity and concern for the poor was specifically limited locally to the poor immediately connected to his family and parish. Thomas Hanworth (layman) wanted to ensure that his soul would be prayed for, and so left 4d to each poor man from St Giles hospital for this purpose, but he also left money for more

¹⁰¹⁸ N. Llewellyn, 'Honour in life, death and the memory: funeral monuments in early modern England', *TRHS*, 6th series, 6 (1996), 194.

¹⁰¹⁹ Rubin, 'Identities', 387.

¹⁰²⁰ Sanderson, *Lincoln Cathedral*, 87: 'Here lies Nicholas Prouet, lately nephew of Alexander Prouet, precentor of this church, who died on the nineteenth day of the month of April, the year of Our Lord 1458. On whose soul may God have pity. Amen.'

¹⁰²¹ TNA Prob/11/10, fo. 31r.

widespread charitable concerns.¹⁰²² Hanworth left 6s 8d each to each prisoner in Lincoln castle, to be used to purchase bread and drink for three years after his death and he also bequeathed the largest amount of money out of all the cathedral close testators, of 6s 8d, to the anchorite.¹⁰²³

After churches, the second most popular bequest made by laymen was to the friars; twelve laymen made a bequest to the orders of the friars living in Lincoln. Again, these were small monetary bequests ranging from the 12d left by Thomas Coon (layman) to the Dominican friars to the 6s 8d left by William Lathbury (layman) to the Augustinian friars.¹⁰²⁴ The popularity of friars in urban areas was not an uncommon phenomenon; Claire Cross's examination of testamentary evidence for mid-sixteenth century York indicated that about a third of testators made bequests to friars.¹⁰²⁵ There is evidence that the Franciscan friars in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Lincoln preached homilies wherever people assembled; before 1270 they regularly preached outside the castle, where people used to play games.¹⁰²⁶ The role of the friars in Lincoln would have been similar to that of the York friars; they would have preached, heard confessions, visited the sick and collected alms, developing pastoral relationships and friendships with the people of the city parishes.¹⁰²⁷ In this way the friars would have been more accessible to the laymen than regular clergy in religious houses, for example. Religious houses did not receive as many bequests; only three laymen made bequests of money to abbeys and convents outside Lincoln, such as John Gray (layman) who left 26s to the Cistercian convent of Louth Park (the South riding of Lindsey) and 6s 8d to the Carthusian monastery on the Isle of Axholme (the West riding of Lindsey).¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²² LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

¹⁰²³ LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17r.

¹⁰²⁴ Thomas Coon: LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 17v; William Lathbury: LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88r (later foliation).

¹⁰²⁵ C. Cross, 'Monasticism and society in the diocese of York 1520-1540', *TRHS*, 5th series, 38 (1988), 140.

¹⁰²⁶ M. Robson, 'The Greyfriars of Lincoln c.1230-1330: the establishment of the friary and the friars' ministry and life in the city and its environs' in M. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (eds.), *Franciscan organisation in the mendicant context: formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the middle ages* (London, 2010), 121-122.

¹⁰²⁷ M. Robson, 'Benefactors of the Greyfriars in York: alms from testators, 1530-1538', *Northern History*, 38/2 (2001), 222.

¹⁰²⁸ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 65v.

Comparison of testamentary identities

The analysis of the religious provision of the clergy, laywomen and laymen living in Lincoln Cathedral close c.1450-1500 suggests, to an extent, that different testamentary strategies were adopted by these three groups that reflected their different social roles. The clerical bequests and requests show a basic concern for the maintenance and improvement of the parish churches and also Lincoln Cathedral, places which had been part of their spiritual development throughout their lifetimes. They also indicate their desire for these institutions to continue for future generations. The scope of clerical bequests, including parishes where they had served as incumbent, suggests that they had a wider geographical network of pious priorities than the lay male and female testators, as a direct result of their role in the Church.

The elaborate funeral rituals that the clergy had developed by the fifteenth century reflect two aims of this group for their post-mortem provision: to honour God and the saints and to display their status as pious priests of the Church. Their status as priests meant that they were knowledgeable about the range of funeral rites available and their fellow clergy would have been anxious to carry these out, honouring the memory of their deceased clergy brethren. Through charitable works such as involving the poor in their funeral rites and funding torches to illuminate the altars of the saints for the whole community, the clergy hoped to stimulate intercession, especially from the poor. The commissioning of a funeral monument would also have reflected their status as part of the cathedral community, suggesting the desire of the clergy to command respect and intercession from future members of the community, particularly if there was an image or poem to aid remembrance.

The high volume of requests for Mass-centred commemoration reflects the respect that the clergy had for these rites that they would have performed and observed daily throughout their lives. They understood that the words and the actions of the Mass were 'things of great power'.¹⁰²⁹ The Mass was understood as a sacrifice that benefited both the living and the dead, which made it of universal

¹⁰²⁹ J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a social institution 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 33.

interest, and the clergy would have wanted to maximise this, and receive the greatest benefit from Masses after their death, as they had in life.¹⁰³⁰ The majority also included their friends and family in the dedication of their chantries, which indicates how they wanted to share the benefits of services with those who had been close to them throughout their lives. The clergy also wanted to reap the rewards of charitable giving, but this charity was often connected to their own personal priorities; giving to the deserving poor and friars that they had concern for in life. The clergy asserted their identity and status through their wills by presenting themselves as orthodox and pious priests, concerned with the continuation of divine service and well aware of Church teachings, hoping to prompt remembrance and therefore salvation.

The pious provision of the female testators also reflected their role in society. The bequests from the small number of female testators in Lincoln Cathedral close of items of jewellery and prayer beads are significant because these would have been some of the most valuable commodities that they were permitted to bequeath. This indicates the high regard with which these women held their local parish churches and cathedral and how they identified themselves with these institutions by bequeathing their personal, expensive moveable property. The women in the close identified more closely with local institutions which directly affected their spirituality, making bequests to nearby churches and the cathedral. The idea that women identified themselves with the Church by bequeathing their moveable property is also supported by their bequests of household items, for example fabric to be used for altar cloths. The collective identity of the female testators at Lincoln seems to fit into a more general model of female identity, identified by Katherine French and others. Female testators were still able to express their pious feelings despite the limitations imposed upon them by their role in medieval society. The lack of provision from this sample of female wills for charitable giving and commemorative practices should not lead us to the conclusion that the women of the close were not concerned with these issues. The sample is too small and there is not enough supporting evidence for such suppositions. Instead, it is clear that the general pattern in these wills is a tendency to honour the important relationships in life, such as the relationship

¹⁰³⁰ Bossy, 'Mass', 46.

with their cathedral and parish churches, as well as their friends and family, in a meaningful way by using their own possessions to celebrate these associations.

The gifts of the majority of male close testators indicate a different type of relationship; by bequeathing small amounts of money to various churches, which could be used to buy objects, they reflected a more abstract relationship with the churches than the women, who instead bequeathed their personal objects to the sacred space of the church.¹⁰³¹ Interestingly, a few of the laymen did follow the pattern of the female testators and bequeathed more personal items, characterising a more intimate relationship. Similarly to the clergy, the laymen were keen to highlight their status and wealth through their pious provision. Thomas Burgh's (knight) will, in particular, possesses several qualities of a clerical will, such as the extraordinary level of detail in his pious provision. The elaborate provision he makes, for example, bequeathing luxury fabrics for vestments, as well as producing a complex timetable of Masses for his chantry indicative of his personal devotions, serves to underline his piety, creating an impression of his wealth and therefore his powerful position in society. The monument that he commissioned for himself and his wife reinforces this idea; he requested to be depicted bearing arms and with his family shields, proclaiming his lineage and connections and thus presenting an image of a person worthy of commemoration. The success of a layman in life was, in this way, equated with the worthiness of commemoration in death. Laymen such as Thomas Burgh appear to have had an understanding that, whilst it was necessary to highlight their worldly social status and wealth through their post-mortem provision, it was also essential to emphasise their earthly piety, in preparation for heaven. Some laymen were thus combining their lay concept of masculinity with the priestly ideal of masculinity, mindful of their need for salvation. In turn, this suggests that there were competing, and sometimes conflicting, conceptions of masculinity and selfhood that laymen identified with in the later medieval period.

¹⁰³¹ Richardson, 'Household objects', 438.

The nature of pieties in Lincoln Cathedral close

Local pieties

The close inhabitants would have been in a unique position, compared to the parishioners throughout the rest of the city, as they would have been part of the overlapping communities of parish and cathedral. The cathedral offered additional devotional choices to the parishioners of St Margaret's and St Mary Magdalene's. Cathedrals and parish churches were more closely connected than they might at first appear. Lincoln Cathedral contained a parochial altar dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, which was established because the cathedral was built on the site of an existing church, St Mary Magdalene in the Bail.¹⁰³² The western half of the close was in the parish of St Mary Magdalene and the eastern half in the parish of St Margaret; the boundary of the two parishes ran through the cathedral, between the east transepts and the presbytery.¹⁰³³ The advowsons of both churches had been held by the chancellor and the prebendary of Heydour since the mid-twelfth century so this did not result in any conflicting jurisdictions.¹⁰³⁴ The clergy were dedicated to the cathedral because they lived, worked and worshipped there; it is difficult to state with any certainty the level of involvement that the laity would have had with the cathedral. Although the cathedral had cure of souls for its clergy, this did not extend to the lay inhabitants of the close, for whom their parish priest would have held cure of souls. However, the cathedral would have offered a daily round of worship; in the sixteenth century there would have been at least 42 Masses daily,¹⁰³⁵ and offered the same spiritual services offered by parish churches, such as sermons, fraternities and commemoration of the dead. The services at the cathedral would most likely have been considered more sophisticated than those held in parish churches, involving a more elaborate liturgy.

¹⁰³² Lepine, '“And alle oure paresshens”', 32; J. Srawley (ed.), *The Book of John de Schalby* (Lincoln, 1949), 14-15.

¹⁰³³ *SO.1H2*, 2.

¹⁰³⁴ *FL3*, 15, 71.

¹⁰³⁵ Wordsworth, *Notes*, 16.

Many of the testators of Lincoln Cathedral close focused their pious loyalties on the cathedral and this relationship was expressed in a variety of forms. The most straightforward measure of this is that almost all of the testators, 84 out of the total 91, made a bequest to the cathedral. The seven who did not explicitly make a bequest to Lincoln Cathedral comprised three laymen and four members of the clergy. It is difficult to believe that none of these testators had made a gift to the cathedral, perhaps they had organised this before their death, since four of these testators requested burial in the cathedral and one requested burial in the cathedral churchyard. A total of 65 made monetary bequests. The most common bequest across the sample was 20s, which was bequeathed by nineteen testators. The rest of the bequests ranged from a token payment of 12d which was made by John Makynson (layman) and Christopher Thomson (layman) to the most generous donation of £10 by Thomas Salisbury (archdeacon of Bedford 1450-1460).¹⁰³⁶ Thirteen testators made a bequest to the cathedral of both money and either an object or another asset and nine testators solely bequeathed an object. The most popular bequests of objects to the cathedral were items of religious attire for clergy and rosary beads. John Cutler (treasurer 1501-1508) bequeathed two white copes to the value of £20, and John Wyche (chaplain of the chantry of Ulf, Stretton and Haryngton) made a gift of a pair of coral rosary beads with a silver gilded cross.¹⁰³⁷ There were some more secular bequests: Richard Jonson (chaplain of the works chantry) bequeathed a piece of land between Eastgate and *Wanwelsty* to the cathedral and Richard Lawson (layman) bequeathed a cow.¹⁰³⁸ These items bequeathed to the cathedral would have been valuable assets and some of the religious bequests useful on a practical level. This suggests a degree of consideration on the part of the testator concerning the needs of the cathedral community.

Bequests were made by 63 testators (the majority of the laity - twenty laymen, six laywomen and just over half of the clergy - 37) to other churches besides the cathedral. However, many of these bequests were to churches in the vicinity of the cathedral. St Margaret's church within the close received eleven bequests and

¹⁰³⁶ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 105v; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 85v.

¹⁰³⁷ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 19v; LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 85v.

¹⁰³⁸ LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 16v; LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 53r.

St Mary Magdalene's received nineteen. Other uphill churches were also popular; Christopher Thomson (layman) bequeathed 12d to the church of St Mary Magdalene in the close, 6d to the neighbouring church of St Nicholas on Newport and 6d to the church of St Paul's situated in the Bailgate area.¹⁰³⁹ The large number of bequests to the cathedral and local churches suggests that the pieties of the Lincoln Cathedral close testators were influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the cathedral and churches local to them, where they regularly worshipped and which impacted upon their lives on a daily basis. These would have been the places, particularly for the laity, which shaped their pious identities during their visits, whether they were weekly or more frequent. Proximity was clearly a priority when deciding which institutions to include in one's pious provision.

¹⁰³⁹ LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 67r.

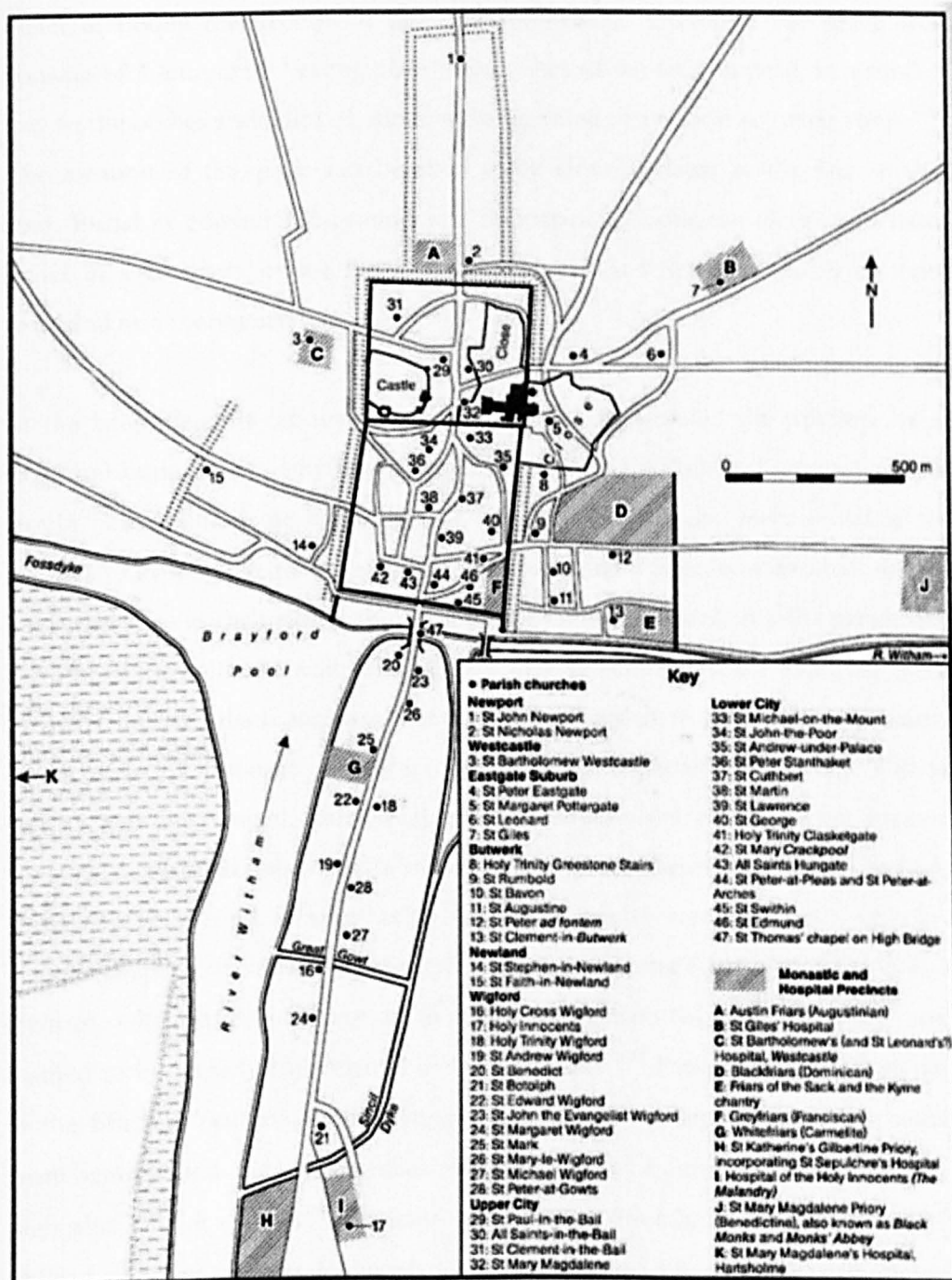


Figure 27: Map of all known parish churches, hospitals and monastic precincts in medieval Lincoln (Taken from Vince, 'The new town', 250).

Another useful indicator of the relationship of the Lincoln Cathedral close testators with the cathedral is the decision of the majority to seek burial inside the cathedral itself or within the cathedral cemetery. Burial location was clearly an important issue. A fundamental element of late medieval eschatology was the

belief in bodily resurrection at the Last Judgement. Therefore the grave was considered a temporary 'resting place'; the bodies of the faithful dead, in a similar way to the bodies and relics of saints, were regarded as symbols for their souls.¹⁰⁴⁰ The location of the grave was believed to be closely related to the fate of the soul. Burial in consecrated ground was important to both the clergy and laity, either in a cemetery or for those who could afford it inside a parish church, cathedral or a monastery.

In the later fifteenth century the chapter at Lincoln granted the privilege of a cathedral burial to the laity for a burial fee of 20s; a substantial amount which would have ensured the exclusivity of the location and also have reflected its status.¹⁰⁴¹ Laypeople requesting burial in the cathedral would have also had to pay a mortuary fee to their parish church, a custom which ensured that the parish did not lose income. This meant that the laity were effectively paying twice for their cathedral burial, which suggests that they considered it to be highly important. There were 65 testators requesting burial in the cathedral: 49 clergy, eleven laymen and five women. Three quarters of these testators, mostly clergy, further specified a particular place inside the cathedral where they wanted to be buried. Burial was requested in a cathedral chapel by twelve testators, such as John Castell (chaplain of the works chantry) and Oliver Horner (chaplain of the works chantry) who expressed devotion to the locally celebrated saint, St Anne, and wanted to be buried in the chapel dedicated to her.¹⁰⁴² Patterns of church burial in the fifteenth century certainly suggest the hope for distinct spiritual benefits from being buried close to the relics, image or altar of a particular saint, or to the high altar of the church.¹⁰⁴³ At least one London church, St Michael Cornhill, applied different charges to burial in the church and the vault as early as the 1450s; this set out a hierarchy of location, with the best places near altars where Mass was celebrated, and those further away being considered less spiritually beneficial.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ Dinn, '“Monuments”', 238.

¹⁰⁴¹ Lepine, '“And alle oure paresshens”', 38.

¹⁰⁴² LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 107r; LCL D&C A/3/3, fo. 80r.

¹⁰⁴³ Marshall, *Beliefs*, 21.

¹⁰⁴⁴ V. Harding, 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London' in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600*, 2nd edn (Leicester, 1995), 131.

Five testators wanted to be buried before a specific altar; two chaplains, Richard Copeland (chaplain of the Works chantry 1452-1455) and William Swete (chaplain of the Cantilupe chantry 1436-1460) requested burial before the altar of St Anne.¹⁰⁴⁵ Thirteen testators desired burial before an image, with six requesting burial before the image of St Mary, patroness of the cathedral. Religious imagery was an important part of a visual piety as images offered the prospect of a sacred presence. These holy images would have been framed by contemporary ideologies, by their environment and by the particular historical moment they occupied but the reception of the image would also have depended upon a whole range of cultural determinants affecting both the image and the viewer.¹⁰⁴⁶ The testators may have developed an affinity with a particular saint related perhaps to age, gender, profession, nation, namesake, family history or circumstances as it was believed that favours were secured on the basis of a saint's sympathy with the petitioner.¹⁰⁴⁷ The remaining testators wanted to be buried near another place in the cathedral; the south aisle was a popular request. The cathedral, through its role providing a space for memory and commemoration of the cathedral community, was effectively becoming a living memorial to the inhabitants of the close. The specification of burial place within the cathedral indicates the relationship of the testator to the physical space of the cathedral throughout their lives, as well as the spiritual importance of particular zones or images within it.

A further eight testators requested burial in the churchyard of Lincoln Cathedral, which would have been a less expensive option. This was requested by three laymen, a chaplain and a poor clerk who presumably could not afford a church burial. Nevertheless, the fact that the majority chose burial either within or just outside Lincoln Cathedral implies that they had formed a pious connection with the sacred space. They might have believed it was worth paying for the spiritual benefits of being buried within a sanctified space, and to establish a permanent association between themselves and the activity of the cathedral church.¹⁰⁴⁸ This

¹⁰⁴⁵ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 55v; LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 95r.

¹⁰⁴⁶ R. Marks, *Image and devotion in late medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), 25.

¹⁰⁴⁷ D. Morgan, *Visual piety: a history and theory of popular religious images* (London, 1998), 70-71.

¹⁰⁴⁸ V. Harding, *The dead and the living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002), 119.

would have been a place closely associated with their day-to-day pious devotions and burial within the cathedral suggests the testators' strong loyalty to their 'mother church'. In addition to this, three testators requested burial in the church of St Mary Magdalene in the Bail and three testators desired burial in St Margaret's church within the close. In these cases, loyalties to their parish churches outweighed devotion to the cathedral but the preponderance of testators still reflected a piety rooted in the local religious milieu.

Communal pieties

It is also interesting to observe the importance of communal piety to the testators of Lincoln Cathedral close. The most significant form of communal piety available at this time was membership of a guild. Identification with a medieval guild not only joined an individual to an important collective association but also allowed an individual to mark themselves out as having a devotion to a specific saint or to be a supporter of a particular craft. Medieval guilds were voluntary associations, which were primarily formed for the mutual aid and protection of their members, bound together by taking an oath and paying into a common fund.¹⁰⁴⁹ A crucial provision in guild ordinances was for the respectful burial of a deceased guild member with a requiem Mass, usually attended by the entire guild, and for posthumous intercession on behalf of their souls. This particularly emphasises the importance of pious and charitable support for members of the community, both in life and death. Fellow guild members effectively became their 'ritual kin', as the rituals and practices experienced by the guilds were the same as those experienced in families, such as feasting, burial and prayer.¹⁰⁵⁰

Guild members would have been expected to be active in their membership, attending functions such as general meetings, members' funerals, guild Masses and feasts; the importance of this is emphasised by the fact that fines were often imposed upon absentees.¹⁰⁵¹ This point is reinforced by Ben McRee, who argues that in order to ensure the survival of guilds, it was necessary for them to bind

¹⁰⁴⁹ S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1997), 67-68.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Rubin, 'Small', 140.

¹⁰⁵¹ Rosser, 'Communities', 33-34.

together their members, who had varied social origins, into a cohesive whole, by emphasising their mutual obligations.¹⁰⁵² However John Arnold indicates that guilds preserved rather than challenged the community structure, acknowledging that different strata of society could be involved in the same guild but their institutions were usually separate and sometimes certain groups were explicitly forbidden membership.¹⁰⁵³ Nonetheless, the rituals involved in guild membership have also been heralded as a forum through which communities could address their tensions and feel unified as a community.¹⁰⁵⁴

The historiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries portrayed guilds as being completely run by the laity and that clergy were simply employed by them to say Masses.¹⁰⁵⁵ This idea has, however, been contested by later studies. Gervase Rosser has pointed out that in almost all guilds, for which membership lists survive, there is evidence that parish priests were members alongside the laity and that they benefited from the activities of the guild.¹⁰⁵⁶ Ken Farnhill's study of the accounts and wills for East Anglia in the later medieval period suggests that there was a routine involvement in guilds and fraternities by secular clergy.¹⁰⁵⁷ The evidence from Lincoln Cathedral close supports this argument, as two thirds of testators that made bequests to guilds were clergy. There were 25 bequests to guilds from all male testators. As evidence produced earlier on in this chapter indicates, the female testators appeared to have had different pious priorities to the men. Katherine French has highlighted the existence of women's guilds; so belonging to a guild appears to have been an important priority for women in other areas.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵² B. McRee, 'Charity and gild solidarity in late medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32/3 (1993), 211-212.

¹⁰⁵³ Arnold, *Belief*, 129-134.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Arnold, *Belief*, 134. See also M. James, 'Ritual, drama and social body in the late medieval English town', *Past & Present*, 98 (1983), 3-29.

¹⁰⁵⁵ See for example H. Westlake, *The parish gilds of mediaeval England* (London, 1919), 45; J. Toulmin-Smith, *English gilds* (London, 1870), xxviii-xxix.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Rosser, 'Communities', 40.

¹⁰⁵⁷ K. Farnhill, 'Clergy and laity in late medieval East Anglian guilds', *Norfolk Archaeology* 44/2 (2003), 300.

¹⁰⁵⁸ K. French, 'Maidens' lights and wives' stores: women's parish guilds in late medieval England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29/2 (1988), 399-425. See evidence for female guild membership in R. Goddard, 'Medieval business networks: St Mary's guild and the borough court in later medieval Nottingham', *Urban history* 40/1 (2013), 7-8.

Some testators saw this form of communal piety as a key part of their spirituality. Philip Tilney (prebendary of St Botolph 1444-1453) made an extremely generous bequest of £20 to the aldermen and brothers of the Corpus Christi guild in Boston, which is the largest monetary bequest in his will, as well as giving 13s 4d to the guild of St Peter, Boston, 5s to the guild of the Holy Trinity, 3s 4d to the guild of St George and 6s 8d to the Torches guild, Boston.¹⁰⁵⁹ Although another three testators also gave money to the guild of St Mary, Boston, the majority of bequests were to local saints' guilds. There were no bequests to the only guild that was situated within the close itself: the guild of St Margaret at St Margaret's church. It could be the case that, in terms of guilds, proximity mattered less to the testators than their devotion to other saints.

There were eight testators making bequests to the main guild dedicated to the St Mary in St Andrew's church, Wigford, known as the 'grete' guild, ranging from a nominal bequest made by a layman William Lathbury (layman) of 8d to 20s bequeathed by William Skelton (treasurer 1477-1501).¹⁰⁶⁰ Three testators made bequests to unspecified guilds dedicated to St Mary in Lincoln and Henry Massham (layman) made bequests of 12d each to the guilds of St Mary in St Rumbold's church in the suburb of Butwerk and St Mary's church, Wigford.¹⁰⁶¹ This supports the idea that Marian devotion was strong in Lincoln, and indicates that the Lincoln citizens felt that bequests to the patron saint of their cathedral were most beneficial. It was also because seven different guilds in late medieval Lincoln were dedicated to St Mary; a greater number than any other individual saint.¹⁰⁶² The later middle ages witnessed a proliferation of feasts in honour of St Mary, and part of this popularising process was the development of the cult of St Anne, mother of Mary.¹⁰⁶³ This could explain why the largest number of bequests to a guild from this sample was to the Lincoln guild dedicated to St Anne. Sixteen bequests were made to this guild, the most common was 3s 4d and the largest 6s

¹⁰⁵⁹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 22r.

¹⁰⁶⁰ LCL D&C A/2/36, fo. 88r; LCL D&C A/3/2, fo. 15r. I am grateful to Alan Kissane for allowing me to see a map he has created linking late medieval guilds to specific churches in Lincoln, taken from his thesis: Kissane, *Identities*, 123.

¹⁰⁶¹ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 139r.

¹⁰⁶² See Kissane, *Identities*, 139.

¹⁰⁶³ McHardy, 'Eton College Wills', 394.

8d from John Gray (layman).¹⁰⁶⁴ The procession and plays for St Anne's day were the most important civic and religious event of the year. The procession would include pageant wagons, illustrating the sacred history from the Creation to the Last Judgement. The cathedral accounts suggest that the craft guilds worked with, or under, the guild of St Anne in presenting the 'processions and sights'.¹⁰⁶⁵ The important role of the St Anne's guild in the community also explains why this guild received the largest number of bequests.

Conclusion

The inhabitants of Lincoln Cathedral close used the bequests and requests made in their wills, and indicated in other evidence, to express their pious priorities, commemorative concerns and charitable interests. The analysis of this material allows broad conclusions to be drawn regarding what these testators considered to be personally important as they reflected on their lives and became more mindful of approaching death. To begin with, there was a strong element of locally based piety. Lincoln Cathedral would have been the focus of many testators' daily devotions and their fidelity to the cathedral was made especially clear by the overwhelming number of bequests of money and valuable items. Most of the testators also chose the cathedral to be their final resting place as an affirmation of their loyalty to the sacred space. Monumental inscriptions suggest that testators were proud of their status and connections with the cathedral, anticipating the intercessions of the cathedral community. There was clearly preference for local parish churches, as well as the cathedral, because these institutions had a great bearing on their personal piety. The cathedral offered an alternative form of worship to the parish church, and although the testators obviously felt great affection for their parishes, many still preferred to purchase burial within, and commemorative services from, the cathedral. There are many reasons why this might have been the case; perhaps a belief that services within the cathedral had a higher perceived value than those within parish churches, as a result of the more elaborate liturgy, or possibly because the testators felt that the

¹⁰⁶⁴ LCL D&C A/2/35, fo. 65v.

¹⁰⁶⁵ K. Cameron and S. Kahrl, 'The N-Town plays at Lincoln', *Theatre Notebook* 20/2 (1965), 65.

cathedral would have attracted more visitors and therefore created a wider pool of people who might pray for their souls.

In addition to this, the testators showed their allegiance to the locally commemorated Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the cathedral was dedicated, and St Anne, mother of Mary and the saint to whom one of the most powerful guilds in Lincoln was dedicated, by bequeathing money to their guilds and also requesting burial near altars dedicated to them or images of them in the cathedral. Charitable giving was even kept local – the testators' bequests to the poor were often for the benefit of the local poor who would have been able to attend their funeral, for example. Judging from the number of bequests to the local fraternities of friars, who would have been a visible presence in the city, they were especially popular with the testators. Nonetheless, the clergy in particular demonstrate that they had a wider network of contacts with less geographically close religious institutions. Proximity and personal relevance evidently had an important bearing on the testators' choices of affiliations but equally this shows that many testators developed connections with the community, otherwise there would not have been such popular provision for a range of local institutions and people. About a quarter of close testators, mainly clergy with some laymen, recognised the importance of communal pieties. These testators recognised their shared aims and wanted to make alliances concerning issues that they believed to be important but also out of concern for their own interests. Religious guilds were founded in honour of a particular saint but also ensured that its members received an appropriate funeral and post-mortem prayers that they might have been unable to organise for themselves, in addition to organising social events and providing aid to needy members.¹⁰⁶⁶ In this way, religion provided an important social function and helped to support the community through the rituals of life and death.

For a few dignitaries and wealthy laymen, short term commemoration in terms of an elaborate funeral procession, illuminated by candles and torches, was a crucial reflection of their wealth and status. Yet for the rest of the testators who would have had simpler funerals, the overwhelming concern was to make provision for

¹⁰⁶⁶ Rubin, 'Identities', 403.

distributions at their funeral to encourage attendance at this memorial of their life. Requests for commemorative practices and memorials were exclusively from clergy and laymen. Funeral monuments were particularly important to the clergy, along with a few wealthier laymen who also wanted to be remembered in this way. The priority for the laymen and members of the clergy in commissioning these monuments was to reflect their status and lineage thereby encouraging respect, remembrance and prayers from the living.

The beneficial effect of commemorating one's name in prayers and Masses for the relief of the soul in purgatory was sought enthusiastically by the close testators according to their means. In the late fifteenth century there appears to have been a great awareness that particular liturgical acts, such as Masses, had the capacity to extinguish the consequences of sin.¹⁰⁶⁷ The central importance of Mass is highlighted by the variety of forms through which a testator could request Masses for their soul – as a series of Masses, trentals, obits or chantries. Almost all of the clergy and laymen made at least one type of provision for Masses and prayers and many made multiple requests. The complex provision in some wills for establishing temporary chantries is reminiscent of the foundation deeds for permanent chantries; there was a clear concern to ensure the maintenance and continuation of the chantries according to their directives. The repetition of these rituals which enhanced the community, in addition to benefiting the founder, illustrates how the communities of the living and the dead came together through the Mass. The main concerns of the clergy and laymen were to highlight their status and their worthiness to be commemorated, and just in case this was not persuasive enough, they would offer financial incentives, to encourage attendance at services and the offering of prayers to support their souls through purgatory.

Charitable provision from close testators was similarly dominated by bequests from clergy and laymen. There were only five charitable bequests in total from laywomen from the close to local institutions. This is in contrast to the evidence from studying Yorkshire probate collections which indicates that women were

¹⁰⁶⁷ C. Watkins, 'Sin, penance and purgatory in the Anglo-Norman realm: the evidence of visions and ghost stories', *Past & Present*, 175 (2002), 21.

more likely to give charitably than men.¹⁰⁶⁸ The sample of female wills from Lincoln Cathedral close is too small to draw any conclusive evidence about levels of charitable giving but it is certainly clear that this was not a priority. Clergy testators who might have understood more about the importance of charity for the good of their souls made the most numerous bequests and most generous charitable provision, particularly for the poor and needy. As has been mentioned previously, local institutions and those institutions or groups which had the largest bearing on the close testators' lives were the most popular and the Lincoln friars received the most charitable bequests. However it is important to note that institutions in other areas which held significance for the testators, particularly clergy testators who had held successive prebendal churches, were also remembered in their charitable provision. Charitable bequests were most important for the clergy within the close and these bequests were directed towards the institutions or persons that the clergy most valued.

The impression gained from analysis of the wills of these three groups, suggests that the clergy were the most concerned with pious, commemorative and charitable interests. However it is important to remember that the clergy, unlike the laymen, who were required by canon law to leave a third of their wealth to their wives and another third to their children, were free to donate the bulk of their wealth to make provision for their souls.¹⁰⁶⁹ Although the clergy, by the nature of their vocation, would have been likely to be more predisposed to donate their wealth for the good of their souls, this might explain the tendency of the lay male wills to focus on their family and heirs. It is also noteworthy that the higher clergy appear to have been able to combine their comfortably aristocratic lives with their religious vocation without seeming to see the paradox of wealth and piety.¹⁰⁷⁰ There are few humble requests in this sample of wills to compare to that of Philip Repingdon (Bishop of Lincoln 1405-1424) in 1424, who requested burial in St Margaret's churchyard because he felt unworthy of burial in a church or monastery.¹⁰⁷¹ The higher clergy appear to have been greatly anxious to emphasise their worthiness and status, highlighted by their position at the

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cullum, '“And hir name”', 182-183.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Lepine, '“The noiseless”', 33.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Lepine, '“The noiseless”', 37-40.

¹⁰⁷¹ Aston, 'Death', 223.

cathedral; they must have hoped that this would command recognition, respect and therefore post-mortem prayers.

This exploration of the attitudes of the clergy, laymen and laywomen of Lincoln Cathedral close towards pious bequests, commemoration and charitable giving has provided an insight into how these three groups expressed themselves through their testamentary bequests and requests. Although there are distinctive features in the patterns of giving for all three groups, as discussed above, there appear to be common trends within the groups in the ways in which they communicated their religious, commemorative and charitable identities. The testators were most likely to support primarily Lincoln Cathedral but also other local religious institutions with their post-mortem bequests, as well as remembering other places which had held a particular significance for them throughout their lives. There were similarities in the types of pious giving to the cathedral fabric from the clergy and laywomen, and a small proportion of laymen. These groups wanted to bequeath significant and valuable personal possessions to the cathedral; in this way they would retain a link with the cathedral community, remaining part of the rituals and services long after their deaths. Commemorative bequests had the purpose of emphasising testators' significance and statuses in order to encourage remembrance and prayers for their souls. Charitable bequests were again largely affected by locality and how important the receiver of the charitable gift had been considered throughout the testators' lives.

However, as Joel Rosenthal has indicated, the full picture is clearly more complicated. When we try to explain the contextualised significance of bequests and we think of them as links in a complex chain of interaction, expectation, bonding and social control, the meanings prove difficult to untangle.¹⁰⁷² There does appear to have been an element of self-fashioning in the wills, particularly among the higher clergy and wealthier laymen. Self-fashioning is a term that has been used to express how individuals chose to present themselves to the world, and it does appear there was a wider choice available for this type of expression for men than for women, and for wealthier testators than for the less well-off.¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁷² Rosenthal, 'Clerical', 341.

¹⁰⁷³ Rubin, 'Identities', 396.

This study has only touched on some of the main issues linked to this topic; there are clearly more important questions to investigate and areas for further study. One could develop the findings of this study by profiling the wills of the close testators individually and determining the exact number of bequests and requests made per testator that were religious, commemorative or charitable compared, for example, to their provision for their family and kin to gain greater understanding of their significance to the testators.¹⁰⁷⁴ Equally it would provide further insight to compare the total amounts of money per testator bequeathed for religious, commemorative and charitable intentions. There are still important contextual questions to be answered regarding the relationship of the close inhabitants to other parishes in Lincoln and the relationship of parishes not situated within the close with the cathedral. This study has shown that religion, commemoration and charity had different levels of importance for these groups living within Lincoln Cathedral close but through the nature of their bequests and requests the clergy, laymen and laywomen were able to express at some level their pious priorities and the different ways in which they identified themselves by their commemorative and charitable provision.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See Lutton, *Lollardy*, 47-54. Lutton has compared the relative amounts left in cash bequests for pious provision and provision for family and kin, for testators in his study of Tenterden, Kent. This has allowed him to draw more meaningful conclusions about the comparative importance of pious, commemorative and charitable giving.

Conclusion

This thesis draws attention to the importance of a topic that has been overlooked in contemporary historiography: the cathedral close as a community which brought together higher clergy, lower clergy and laypeople from the upper and lower ranks of society, in a particular setting. The first chapter outlined the structure of the cathedral hierarchy and analysed archaeological and architectural evidence for the types of housing available to close inhabitants. The second chapter investigated who the people living in the close actually were. The close inhabitants were broadly classified by using evidence of wealth provided from testamentary bequests in order to approximate social status. The geographical origins and connections of the close inhabitants were also analysed by identifying the locations to which testamentary bequests were made. This was accompanied by an examination of the testamentary evidence and additional reference works for information regarding the education, careers and cultural interests of the close inhabitants. The third chapter explored relationships within and without the close, by analysing the testamentary legacies made to friends and family, and the persons chosen as executors by the clergy, laywomen and laymen. The final chapter explored evidence for the different testamentary strategies employed in the pious, commemorative and charitable provision of the clergy, laywomen and laymen, in addition to exploring the nature of local and communal pieties expressed by the community.

The inhabitants of the close

This study has helped to create a clearer picture of who would have been living in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century. Although, evidently, it has not been possible to trace every inhabitant of the close throughout this period, the numbers of wills for different categories of persons has provided an approximate guide to proportions. Chapter 2 revealed that, predictably, the clergy dominated the close; a small core of residentiary canons and dignitaries but for the most part lower clergy, such as vicars choral and chaplains, who would have been involved in performing many of the services that constituted the daily round of worship in the cathedral. The proportion of residentiary canons and

dignitaries compared to lower clergy was similar at other secular cathedrals, although Wells, Salisbury and Exeter maintained a higher number of residentiary canons than Lincoln in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷⁵ Many of the lower clergy were classified by this study as the lower ranks of society and although the higher clergy were smaller in numbers, the extent of their wealth, as made evident by their bequests, suggests that for the most part, they were an affluent group. Nonetheless, the lay inhabitants of the close still formed a significant element of the population of the close. Although there are only wills for eight female testators living in the close; it is still noteworthy that high status laywomen would have had the option of living in the close at this time. There would, of course, have been a much larger lay population in the close, the existence of which is obscured by the testamentary evidence: the households of clergy and wealthy laypeople, which would have included servants and their families. The fact that the laity had become such an important presence in the close is an important finding of this study. Although the majority of the lay close inhabitants have been classified by this study as being from the lower ranks of medieval society, there is evidence that a number of wealthy and successful members of the urban gentry were living in the close. This corresponds with Barrie Dobson's appraisal of the range of statuses of laypeople that would have been living in the closes at York, Durham and Carlisle in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷⁶ This is perhaps a sign of the growing gentrification of the close; it would be interesting to profile the inhabitants of the close between the years 1500 and 1550 to see whether this trend continued.

It also seems clear that for the close inhabitants, one's connections and sphere of influence were closely connected to one's wealth and status. As the majority of the close inhabitants were from the lower ranks of society, they tended to have less wide ranging connections geographically. It seems likely that many of the lower clergy and laity were native to Lincoln, or had lived there for a number of years, building up associations solely within the city. Again, this trend fits in with impressionistic evidence for the origins of the lower clergy at York, Durham and

¹⁰⁷⁵ *BCSG*, 4; 96.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Dobson, 'Cathedral chapters', 28.

Carlisle.¹⁰⁷⁷ The close inhabitants with connections outside the city tended to have ties within the diocese, or neighbouring dioceses, rather than further afield. The exceptions to this rule were the higher clergy, who by the virtue of their careers and education had built a wider-ranging network of contacts. This suggests that the majority of close inhabitants were local people largely with local interests. It is not surprising that locally, the cathedral close was viewed as a desirable place to live, as a result of the pull of the cathedral, the mother church of the diocese and a seat of great power. The clergy might have seen the attraction of the cathedral as the largest source of benefices in the diocese,¹⁰⁷⁸ and the laity might have wanted to be associated with the most prestigious religious institution in the area. The pull of the cathedral might have waned at its extremities but in such a large diocese, other religious institutions that were geographically closer might have exerted a stronger influence, such as the power of St Paul's Cathedral to attract people in the south of the diocese.

Although there is only evidence for the education of a small number of higher clergy, it seems that those who attended the universities valued their education there. The second part of Chapter 2 proved that this was a key part of their identity and this fact is highlighted through the legacies left with the intention of providing for others to attend university, as well as the bequests of money and items such as books, which had enhanced their education, for the benefit of their former colleges and universities. In addition, lifelong social ties developed between those with mutual educational backgrounds which, in some cases, advanced their careers. Some of the higher clergy achieved important positions in ecclesiastical and royal service before or during their tenure at Lincoln Cathedral and these patronage connections had a significant bearing on their status and level of wealth. The university-educated higher clergy did not have a monopoly on clerical learning; the testamentary evidence indicated that over a third of the clerical testators bequeathed books. Although many books owned by lower clergy were manuals of guidance and pious instruction, the higher clergy showed a wider range of intellectual and cultural interests, in most cases linked to the subject of their degree(s). Although the close was not the focus of organised

¹⁰⁷⁷ Dobson, 'Cathedral chapters', 39-40.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *BCSG*, 46.

academic endeavour in the fifteenth century in the same vein as the scholar-canon in Hereford Cathedral close, there were examples of individual scholarly activity in fifteenth-century Lincoln Cathedral close.¹⁰⁷⁹

Integration within the close

The range of accommodation in the close was well matched to the diversity of statuses living within. Chapter 1 demonstrated that there was no particular area that was regarded as containing the lower quality housing or the better quality housing; different types of housing existed side by side and apart from houses assigned to the dignitaries, vicars choral, poor clerks and choristers, they were available to clergy and laity who could afford the rent. The housing arrangements in the close did not partition off separate areas for the clergy and the laity, nor for the higher clergy and the lower clergy. The urban gentry might have had employees of the Dean and Chapter as their neighbours and residentiary canons might have lived next door to tradesmen. The housing arrangements in the close would have promoted informal integration between different parts of the cathedral hierarchy but also within the lay hierarchy. The communal living arrangements for the vicars choral, poor clerks and choristers, and for particular chantry chaplains, fostered friendships. There are also examples of the higher clergy receiving bequests from the urban gentry; perhaps these groups, as elite and powerful members of society were able to afford mutual assistance in their shared spheres of influence.

The shared experiences of clergy who performed the same role in the cathedral, such as chantry chaplains or vicars choral, clearly created bonds of friendship between individuals which have been recognised by bequests in the wills. However the cathedral offered a formal opportunity to bring together dignitaries, residentiary canons and lower clergy on a regular basis in the weekly Chapter meetings. The case study of the members of Chapter 1450-1460 in Chapter 3 illustrates how bequests of personal and valuable items made between members of Chapter were similar in nature to bequests made to their families. The strength

¹⁰⁷⁹ Lepine, ‘“A long way”’, 186-195.

of the relationships between members of the cathedral clergy is attested to by the choice of the overwhelming majority to nominate only their clergy brethren as executors and to be buried near to one another in the cathedral in which they served. The choice of executors and beneficiaries transcended boundaries between higher and lower clergy, which suggests that there were important relationships of trust between those who served together within Lincoln Cathedral. This trust superseded that of their relationships with their blood relatives. As the clergy lived and worked alongside one another they appear to have formed an almost familial bond which prompted them to have faith in the abilities of their fellow clergy members to carry out their final wishes in preference to members of their own family. The original ethos of secular cathedrals was that of organisations centred on communal living; the evidence of strong bonds between individuals and groups from the wills suggests that this spirit still existed after the clergy moved into independent households. This was not the case after the Reformation, so perhaps what are evident here are the last vestiges of cathedral community.

The evidence suggests that the laymen developed stronger ties with the clergy than the female testators, perhaps because, as men, they would have been more likely to interact with their clergy neighbours on a social level. In respect of the number of accusations of improper relations between clergy and laywomen in this period, it might not have been prudent for a laywoman to demonstrate a strong connection with a member of the clergy, or vice versa. Relationships between lay inhabitants of the close did not appear to have been important enough to warrant mention in their wills; there might have been connections between the laity but these were not strong ties. The exception to this was where wills exist for members of the same family who lived in the close. The main concern for the laity was to ensure that their nuclear families were provided for, in particular their heirs, in order to secure the future success of their lineage. This pattern of testamentary giving is also evident in merchant's wills from York, Beverley and Hull in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸⁰ Laywomen had wider social networks than laymen; they preferred to make small bequests of personal items

¹⁰⁸⁰ Kermode, 'Sentiment', 6-7.

to recognise their relationships with female friends and kin whereas laymen made larger bequests, recognising the most important relationships in their lives.

Religious identities

The close inhabitants would also have been bound together by their common devotion to the cathedral. Chapter 4 demonstrates how loyalty to the cathedral was highlighted by the large volume of bequests from the close testators and their requests for burial within the cathedral church. This could have been for a variety of reasons: because they felt a strong connection with the cathedral after becoming involved in its round of daily worship, because they thought that being buried inside the cathedral would have had greater spiritual benefit than burial elsewhere or because the prestige of being buried in the cathedral reflected an elevated social status. Regardless of motive, proximity to the cathedral did have a bearing on the close inhabitants and they identified with it as a community of worshippers, directing their pious devotions toward the cathedral and the increase of divine service therein, judging from the multitude of Masses requested. The Lincoln close inhabitants held the cathedral in high regard, in contrast to the late medieval testators of the city of Norwich, who preferred to make bequests to the friaries rather than to Norwich Cathedral and although there was an increase in bequests over the period, much of the increase is accounted for by small bequests, which might have simply been conventional gestures.¹⁰⁸¹ At Salisbury, the cathedral occupied an ambiguous place in the religious life of the laity; it had attracted endowments from citizens in the thirteenth century but, by the fifteenth, the people of Salisbury were primarily concerned with embellishing their own parish churches.¹⁰⁸² Similarly, the citizens of York regarded their cathedral with a mixture of 'respect and indifference'; Dobson's survey of lay wills indicates that York citizens also preferred to express their religious aspirations through their parish churches and they requested burial within their parish churches instead of the minster.¹⁰⁸³ However, the surveys of evidence for Norwich, Salisbury and York were not specifically from inhabitants

¹⁰⁸¹ Tanner, *Church*, 120-121.

¹⁰⁸² Brown, *Popular piety*, 65.

¹⁰⁸³ R. B. Dobson, 'The foundation of perpetual chantries by the citizens of medieval York' in G. Cuming (ed.), *The Province of York* (Leiden, 1967), 25.

of the cathedral closes, and perhaps it was the propinquity to Lincoln Cathedral that fostered such loyalty from the close inhabitants.

The local parish churches were also a focal point for devotion but in Lincoln Cathedral close the majority of testators preferred to purchase burial within, and commemorative services from, the cathedral. Pious and charitable gifts to the needy and the religious were clearly devoted to eliciting the prayers of the local faith community and supporting institutions, such as the local orders of friars, which had supported them throughout their lives. St Mary, patroness of the cathedral and St Anne, to whom one of the most powerful guilds in the city was dedicated, were popular among the testators who bequeathed money to guilds commemorating them and also requested burial near altars dedicated to them or images of them in the cathedral. The local guilds allowed clergy and laity to come together in a religious and social context and were an important form of communal piety. Evidently, those local institutions or groups which had a crucial bearing on the close testators' lives were the ones to which they felt the greatest loyalties.

Although there were similarities across the sample of wills, analysis of the religious provision of the clergy, laywomen and laymen living in Lincoln Cathedral close 1450-1500 indicates that different testamentary strategies were adopted by these three groups, which reflected their different social roles. The clergy presented themselves as pious priests, concerned with the continuation of divine service through their requests for commemoration through Masses, obits and chantries. These services were an important means through which the wider cathedral community could receive spiritual benefits. They were proud of their position as servants of Lincoln Cathedral, proclaiming this proudly on their tombs and engraving or embroidering it on their gifts of chalices and altar frontals, hoping that their status would prompt remembrance and salvation. The monetary and material provision of the higher clergy emphasised their wealth and position, particularly through elaborate displays such as funeral processions. This was a trait shared with the laymen, who were also keen to highlight their wealth and status with processions and tombs emphasising their role and success in life. However, the laymen combined this reflection of their masculine status with the

priestly ideal of pious masculinity, through their religious bequests and requests. Many of the laymen bequeathed small amounts of money to various churches reflecting a more abstract relationship with the Church, although some laymen did make bequests of more personal items such as jewellery. This was similar to the laywomen who bequeathed items such as prayer beads and jewellery to the cathedral and local churches; the bequeathing of their personal and valuable property indicates the high regard with which they held these institutions. The laywomen did not make such extensive commemorative and charitable provision as the clergy and laymen but this might have been as a result of their status as lay female testators. This important provision might not have been trusted to them to organise, and such arrangements could have been arranged by their husbands (or late husbands, prior to death). In addition, the heavy bias of the clerical wills towards pious, commemorative and charitable interests needs to be balanced with the fact that they had no obligations regarding the distribution of their goods, unlike laymen who were bound to make provision for their wives and children, so were able to concentrate their efforts on provision for their souls. The orthodox religious culture in late medieval Lincoln Cathedral close appears to have been heterogeneous and multi-layered, which supports the findings of other studies of pre-Reformation religion, such as Lutton's analysis of Tenterden.¹⁰⁸⁴

End thoughts

Although using testamentary evidence brings with it the usual, and insoluble, problems of trying to assess value and meaning from our cultural distance, I believe it is possible to draw tentative conclusions from the evidence. The importance of the personal cannot be underestimated; the testators' religious devotions and social relationships were dominated by people and places that had impacted upon their lives. There was an emphasis on the importance of the individual in these wills, the testator's status as a person making decisions about the wealth and goods that formed part of their life and desiring their own individual prayers and commemorative services and monuments. However, the emphasis was always upon the individual as part of a larger community, that of

¹⁰⁸⁴ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 197.

Lincoln Cathedral. The clergy and laity, whether man or woman, from the upper or lower ranks of medieval society, local or from further afield, with varying levels of education, all shared the goal of maintaining and improving the liturgy and the sacred space of the cathedral. Every will in this sample contains evidence that the testator had belonged, or belonged at the time they wrote their will, to the community of the cathedral. This study has only scratched the surface in understanding some of the formal and informal communities that existed in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century. These communities would have been changing constantly, as inhabitants of the close died or moved on, and new ones took their places, and although these different communities might have existed side by side, there would have been occasions when they would have come together, for conversations, meetings, services, feasts, processions, and so on.

In order to progress this study further, there are several avenues of research that could not be followed up in this thesis owing to constraints of time and space. I intend to pursue this research in the near future. Much could be gained from a systematic calendaring of the chapter acts and common fund accounts for this period, which would provide greater depth of information about the business of the chapter and relations between its members, relationships between the chapter and other clergy and laypeople, as well as links between the chapter and the wider city and county. Individual inhabitants of the close could be traced in court records to find evidence with which to evaluate the personalities and relationships within the close. The connections between the cathedral and the wider diocese could be explored more fully by tracing all bequests to the fabric of the cathedral in the fabric accounts. In addition, it would be valuable to extend the chronological scope of this study, as this would provide the opportunity to explore how the community of the close changed over time. It is difficult to assess how typical Lincoln Cathedral close was as a community due to the lack of similar studies, and it is hoped that the usefulness of this study, as a method of analysing cathedral closes, might inspire research of a similar nature on the closes of other secular and monastic cathedrals.

The aim of this thesis has been to provide a greater understanding of the nature of the communities that lived in Lincoln Cathedral close in the late fifteenth century, by exploring evidence for the lives, relationships and religious practices of the laity and clergy in this period. In contrast with the foci of existing cathedral studies on institutional history and the status of the clergy; these findings have provided key insights into the communities living and working in Lincoln Cathedral close. Very little work has been completed on the social history of cathedral closes in the medieval period, brief studies by Ann Kettle and Caroline Barron on Lichfield and St Paul's apart.¹⁰⁸⁵ Whereas these studies have concentrated on the relationship between the inhabitants of the close and the wider city, this thesis has contributed to the historiography of the importance, nature and dynamics of the cathedral close as a distinct unit of study. No other such study of a cathedral close exists for a secular cathedral in medieval England and this thesis has highlighted the value of this type of research. The 91 wills have yielded a high level of evidence and understanding relating to the inhabitants of the close and their priorities and preoccupations at the point of their death. These wills offer a fascinating insight into the community living in the shadow of Lincoln Cathedral in the late fifteenth century.

¹⁰⁸⁵ A. Kettle, 'City and close', 158-69; C. Barron, 'London and St Paul's Cathedral', 126-149.

Appendix 1: List of wills of close inhabitants 1430-1520				
Date of will	Name	Status	Role	Will reference
12 September 1452	John Cartwright	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.9
4 October 1452	Philip Tilney	HC	Pb of St Botolph	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 21v-22v
Undated but copied before an entry in the Chapter Acts dated 1452	Richard Patryngton	LC	Pc	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.10v
26 March 1453	Robert Patryngton	LC	Vi Ch	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.12v
30 December 1453	William Hatton	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.48
9 March 1454	Thomas Walton	LC	Vi Ch and WaSP	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.24
20 April 1454	John Edderston	HC	Pb Leighton Manor	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 36-37
3 June 1455	William Burn	LC	VC	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.44v
13 September 1455	William Schipton	LC	Vi ch and Cp	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.100v
20 December 1455	Margaret Hatton	L	Wife of William Hatton	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 48-48v
24 January 1456	John Leek	HC	Sc	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 48v-49v
6 February 1456	Richard Copeland	LC	Cp of Works chantry	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.55v
31 March 1457	John Gray	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.65v
3 September 1457	Thomas Bovile	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.61
10 April 1458	Nicholas Prowett	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.84
12 September 1460	Thomas Salisbury	L	Ad Bedford	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 85v-87
20 October 1460	William Swete	LC	Cp of Nicholas de Cantilupe's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.95
6 December 1460	Nicholas Wymbysh	HC	Pb Ketton	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 87v-88v
4 March 1461	Ellen Retford	L	Widow of Henry Retford, knight	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.95v
16 April 1462	William Knight	LC	Cp Un	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.110
28 May 1463	John Breton	HC	Pb Sutton-cum-Buckingham	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 96v-98
20 June 1464	William Wigfall	LC	Cp Un	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.96
9 January 1466	John Wyche	LC	Cp of William son of Wolfe, Richard de Stretton and John Haryngton's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.85v (later foliation)
18 January 1466	Robert Darcy	LC	Vi ch and WaSP	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.101
10 July 1466	Margaret Fenton	L	Wife of John Fenton	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.101v

Date of will	Name	Status	Role	Will reference
26 December 1466	Laurence Marshall	L	Watchman of Lincoln Cathedral close	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 102-102v
24 May 1467	John Balderston	LC	Vi ch and Cp	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.108v
30 May 1467	Robert Strickland	L	Goldsmith	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.107v-108
26 June 1467	Joan Fitzwilliam	L	Laywoman, mother of Ralph Babthorpe	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.106
31 July 1467	John Makynson	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.105v
29 November 1468	John Lumpner	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.112
7 May 1470	Alice Gray (alias Paynter)	L	Laywoman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.117v
20 August 1470	Alexander Prowett	HC	P	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 128v-129
27 November 1470	Robert Ayscogh	HC	S	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 129v-130v
31 December 1470	Katherine Goderic	L	Laywoman	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.128
4 February 1471	Henry Fotherby	L	Esquire	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.131v
20 April 1471	William Burton	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.83 (later foliation)
10 September 1471	Thomas Cutt	LC	Vi ch and Cp of Hugh of Wells' chantry	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.132
12 September 1471	William Carver	LC	Cp Un	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.132v
20 October 1471	Thomas Farforth	LC	Vi ch and Cp of Henry Lexington's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.133
12 January 1473	Robert Bedale	L	Tiler for the Dean and Chapter	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.134v
15 June 1473	John Beverley	HC	Pb Caistor	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 136v-137
4 July 1473	John Tilney	HC	Pb St Martin in Demestall	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.135
9 September 1473	John Graveley	HC	Pb Asgarby	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 137-137v
6 April 1474	Peter Dicson	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.83v (later foliation)
10 October 1474	William Kyrke	LC	V	LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 140v-141
8 December 1474	William Mussham	LC	Vi ch and Cp	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.82 (later foliation)
9 December 1474	Thomas Grene	LC	Vi ch and Cp	LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 84-84v (later foliation)
4 January 1475	Henry Massham	L	Tailor	LCL D&C A/2/35, fo.139
21 September 1475	William Wryght	LC	Cp of John Gynewell's chantry	LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 83v-84 (later foliation)

Date of will	Name	Status	Role	Will reference
28 September 1476	John Crosby	HC	T	LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 86v-87 (later foliation)
4 January 1477	John Lilford	HC	Pb Caistor	LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 84v-85 (later foliation)
18 March 1477	William Lathbury	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.88 (later foliation)
8 December 1477	Richard Myles	LC	Cl of the common chamber	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.88v (later foliation)
23 June 1477	William Dunwyche	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/2/36, fo.91v (later foliation)
10 March 1478	Robert Wymbych	HC	S	LCL D&C A/2/36, fos 90v-91 (later foliation)
27 February 1482	John Collinson	HC	Ad Northampton	TNA Prob/11/7, fos 33-34
Will undated. Died before 16 September 1493 (FL1, p. 21)	Robert Mason	HC	P	LCL D&C A/3/1, fo.88
18 February 1496	Thomas Burgh	L	Knight	TNA Prob/11/10, fos 29v-31v
16 October 1498	Richard Jonson	LC	Cp of Works chantry	LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 16v-17
8 June 1499	William Ingham	LC	Cp Un	LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 7v-8
14 February 1501	William Skelton	HC	T	LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 12v-15
4 October 1501	William Docking	LC	Cp Un	LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 20v-21v
7 December 1502	John Watson	LC	Cp Robert Flemming's chantry	LCL D&C A/3/2, fos 50-51
26 June 1504	Robert Pecoke	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	LCL D&C A/3/2, fo.23
23 May 1505	John Scalys	LC	VC	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 42-42v
7 February 1508	William Johnson	LC	Cp of Bartholomew Burghersh's chantry	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 13-13v
25 April 1508	John Cutler	HC	T	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 19v-20
27 May 1508	John Oldam	LC	Cp of Richard de Whitwell's chantry	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 13v-14
15 August 1508	Geoffrey Simeon	HC	D	TNA Prob/11/16, fos 26-26v
17 April 1509	Ralph Babthorpe	L	Esquire	LCL D&C A/3/4, fo.37
20 August 1509	William Dighton	LC	Cp of Hugh of Wells' chantry	LCL D&C A/3/4, fos 18v-19
14 March 1510	Nicholas Traftord	LC	Vi ch and Cp of John Mackworth's chantry	LCL D&C A/3/4, fo.25
14 September 1510	Thomas Hanworth	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/4, fos 17-17v
17 September 1510	Thomas Coon	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/4, fos 17v-18

Date of will	Name	Status	Role	Will reference
26 September 1511	Simon Stallworth	HC	S	TNA Prob/11/17, fo.163
16 March 1512	Edmund Hanson	HC	P	LCL D&C A/3/4, fos 39v-40
13 October 1512	Richard Lawson	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/4, fo.53
9 November 1512	Thomas Whynby	LC	Vi ch	LCL D&C A/3/4, fo.48
11 July 1514	Christopher Thomson	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.67
13 July 1514	Thomas Gyll	LC	Cp of Works chantry	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.66
23 December 1514	Maud Lawson	L	Laywoman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 71v-72
10 November 1515	Oliver Horner	LC	Cp of Works chantry	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 80-80v
2 January 1517	Thomas Wright	LC	Sc	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 105-105v
4 May 1517	Margaret Deve	L	Laywoman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.111
16 May 1517	John Castell	LC	Cp of Works chantry	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 107-107v
20 September 1518	John Baildon	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos 133v-134
2 October 1518	William Walkar	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.134v
4 April 1519	George Bell	LC	Sc	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.147
3 January 1520	William Gash	LC	Cl	LCL D&C A/3/3, fos. 148v-149
30 April 1520	Thomas Babthorpe	L	Layman	LCL D&C A/3/3, fo.154v
Key				
LC = Lower clergy	Ad = Archdeacon	Sc = Sacrist		
HC = Higher clergy	Un = Unknown	Cp = Chaplain		
L = Layperson	P = Precentor	Cl = Clerk		
WaSP = Warden of the altar of St Peter	S = Subdean	D = Dean		
VC = Vicechancellor	V = Verger	Pb = Prebendary		
Vi Ch = Vicar Choral	T = Treasurer	Pc = Poor clerk		

Appendix 2: A list of residentiary canons 1430-1520 taken from the lists of canons in major and minor residence in the common fund accounts

Note: dates are given in the format 1440/41 reflecting the common fund accounts, which provide the data for this list, and which are based on the financial year running from 14 September.

Gap in accounts between 1423 and 1441

LCL D&C Bj/2/12

fo. 23v

1440/41

Major residence

John Macworth, dean
John Percy, subdean
Robert Burton, precentor
Peter Partriche, chancellor
John Haket, treasurer
John Southam, archdeacon of Oxford
William Lassells, archdeacon of Huntingdon
John Marshall, prebendary of Louth
Nicholas Wymbysh, prebendary of Ketton
Richard Ingoldesby, prebendary of Welton Beckhall

Minor residence

Thomas Warde, prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby

LCL D&C Bj/2/13

fo. 30v

1442/43

Major

John Macworth
John Percy
Robert Burton
Peter Partriche
William Lassells
John Marshall
Nicholas Wymbysh
Richard Ingoldesby

Thomas Ringstede, prebendary of Caistor

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/13

fo. 69v

1443/44

Major

John Percy
Robert Burton
Peter Partriche
Thomas Skeyman, treasurer
John Marshall
Richard Ingoldesby
Thomas Ringstede
Thomas Warde
Nicholas Wymbysh
Thomas Ludham, prebendary of North Kelsey

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/13

fo. 130r

1444/45

Major

John Mackworth
Robert Burton
Peter Partriche
John Percy
Thomas Skeyman
Richard Ingoldesby
Nicholas Wymbysh
Thomas Ringstede
Thomas Ludham
John Marshall

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/14

1445/46 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

John Kylborn, precentor
Peter Partriche
John Percy
Thomas Skeyman
Thomas Ludham
Richard Ingoldesby
Simon Alcock, prebendary of Lafford
Thomas Loughborough, prebendary of Dunham and Newport

Minor

John Marshall
Thomas Ringstede

LCL D&C Bj/2/14

1446/47 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

John Kylborn
Peter Partriche
John Percy
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Edderston, prebendary of Liddington
John Smeton, treasurer
Richard Ingoldesby
Simon Alcock
Thomas Loughborough

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/14

1447/48 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated. MS torn so might not record all canons in major residence.

Major

Peter Partriche
John Percy
Nicholas Wymbysh

John Edderston
John Smeton
Simon Alcock
Thomas Loughborough

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/15

1448/49 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

Peter Partriche
John Percy
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Edderston,
Alexander Prowett, precentor
Simon Alcok
Thomas Loughborough

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/15

1449/50 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

John Macworth
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Edderston
Alexander Prowett
Simon Alcok
Thomas Salisbury, archdeacon of Bedford
John Derby, prebendary of Kelsey

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/15

1450/51 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

Peter Partriche
John Edderston
Philip Tilney, prebendary of St Botulph, Lincoln
Alexander Prowett
Simon Alcok
Thomas Salisbury
John Derby
Thomas Loughborough

Minor

John Percy
Nicholas Wymbysh

LCL D&C Bj/2/15

1451/52 list of residentiary canons, unfoliated

Major

John Macworth
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Edderston
Philip Tilney
Alexander Prowett, precentor
Simon Alcok, prebendary of Lafford
Thomas Salisbury, archdeacon of Bedford
John Derby, prebendary of Kelsey

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 22r

1452/53

Major

Hugh Tapton, chancellor
Nicholas Wymbysh, prebendary of Ketton
Philip Tilney, prebendary of St Botulph, Lincoln
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby, treasurer
Thomas Salisbury

Minor

John Derby

John Edderston
Simon Alcok

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 55r

1453/54

Major

Hugh Tapton, chancellor
Nicholas Wymbysh
Philip Tilney
John Beverley, prebendary of Aylesbury
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
Thomas Salisbury

Minor

John Derby
John Edderston
Simon Alcok

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 87r

1454/55

Major

Hugh Tapton
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Beverley
John Breton, prebendary of Sutton-cum-Buckingham
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
Thomas Salisbury

Minor

Simon Alcok

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 115r

1455/56

Major

Hugh Tapton
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Beverley
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
Thomas Salisbury

Minor

Simon Alcok

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 144r

1456/57

Major

Hugh Tapton
Nicholas Wymbysh
John Beverley
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
Thomas Salisbury

Minor

Simon Alcok

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 179r

1457/58

Major

Hugh Tapton
John Beverley
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby

Minor

Simon Alcok
Nicholas Wymbysh
Thomas Salisbury

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 210r

1458/59

Major

Hugh Tapton
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
John Beverley, prebendary of Caistor

Minor

Nicholas Wymbysh
Thomas Salisbury

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 241r

1459/60

Major

Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh, subdean
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
John Beverley

Minor

Nicholas Wymbysh
Thomas Salisbury

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 270r

1460/61

Major

Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
John Beverley

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 295r

1461/62

Major

Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby
John Beverley

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 320r

1462/63

Major

Robert Flemming, dean
Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh
John Beverley
John Breton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 345r

1463/64

Major

Robert Flemming
Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby

Minor

John Beverley
John Breton

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 366r

1464/65

Major

Robert Flemming
Hugh Tapton
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby

Minor

John Beverley
Robert Ayscogh

LCL D&C Bj/2/16

fo. 387r

1465/66

Major

Robert Flemming
Hugh Tapton
Robert Ayscogh
Robert Wymbych, Prebendary of Centum Solidorum
Alexander Prowett
John Crosby

Minor

John Beverley

Gap in accounts between 1465/66 and 1478/79

LCL D&C Bj/3/1 – single accounting year

fo. 13v

1478/79

Major

Robert Flemming

Hugh Tapton

Philip Leipyates, subdean

Thomas Alford, prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby

Henry Boleyn, precentor

William Skelton, treasurer

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 15r

1480/81

Major

Robert Flemming

Hugh Tapton

Philip Leipyates

Thomas Alford

Henry Boleyn

William Skelton

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 39r

1481/82

Major

Robert Flemming
Martin Joynour, chancellor
Philip Leipyates
Thomas Alford
William Skelton

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 62r

1482/83

Major

Robert Flemming
Martin Joynour
Philip Leipyates
Thomas Alford
Robert Mason, precentor
William Skelton

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 83r

1483/84

Major

Martin Joynour
Philip Leipyates
Thomas Alford
Robert Mason
William Skelton

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 105r

1484/85

Major

Martin Joynour
Philip Leipyates
Thomas Alford
Robert Mason
William Skelton

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 125r

1485/86

Major

Geoffrey Simeon, chancellor
Philip Leipyates
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles, prebendary of Kilsby

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 146r

1486/87

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Philip Leipyates
Thomas Hill, prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 166r

1487/88

Major

Geoffrey Simeon, chancellor
Thomas Hill
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles, prebendary of Kilsby

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 187r

1488/89

Major

Geoffrey Simeon, chancellor
Thomas Hill, prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby
Robert Mason, precentor
William Skelton, treasurer
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 208r

1489/90

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth, subdean
Thomas Hill
Robert Mason

William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 229r

1490/91

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 252r

1491/92

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C B/j/3/2

fo. 273r

1492/93

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Robert Mason
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 294r

1493/94

Major

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 315r

1494/95

Major

George Fitzhugh, dean
Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Henry Ap John, precentor
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/2

fo. 315r

1495/96

Major

George Fitzhugh
Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Henry Ap John
William Skelton
John Walles

Minor

None

Gap in accounts between 1495/96 and 1501/02

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 14r

1501/02

Major

George Fitzhugh
Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Thomas Hill
Henry Ap John
John Cutler, treasurer
John Walles
John Grantham, prebendary of Liddington

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 36r

1502/03

Major

George Fitzhugh
Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Henry Ap John
John Cutler
John Walles
John Grantham

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 56r

1503/04

Major

George Fitzhugh
Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
John Cutler
John Walles
John Grantham

Minor

Henry Ap John

Accounts 1504/1505 – missing

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 76r

1505/06

Major

Geoffrey Simeon, dean
Simon Stalworth
Richard Roiston, prebendary of Corringham
Richard Cowland, precentor
John Cutler
John Grantham

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 96r

1506/07

Geoffrey Simeon
Simon Stalworth
Richard Roiston
William Smith, archdeacon of Lincoln
John Cutler
John Grantham
William Fitzherbert, prebendary of Dunham and Newport

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 116r

1507/08

Major

Edmund Hanson, precentor
Simon Stalworth
Richard Roiston
William Smith
John Cutler
William Fitzherbert

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 136r

1508/09

Major

Edmund Hanson

Simon Stalworth
Richard Roiston
Edward Derby, archdeacon of Stow
William Smith
John Constable, treasurer
William Fitzherbert

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 156r

1509/10

Major

Edmund Hanson
John Constable
William Smith
Edward Derby
Richard Roiston
William Fitzherbert

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 175v

1510/11

Major

Edmund Hanson
John Constable
William Smith
Edward Derby
Richard Roiston

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 197v

1511/12

Major

John Constable
William Smith
Edward Derby

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 219v

1512/13

Major

Simon Green or Fotherby, precentor,
Nicholas Bradebridge, chancellor
William Smith
John Constable
Edward Derby
Christopher Massingberd, prebendary of Clifton and Empingham

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 243v

1513/14

Major

John Constable, dean
Simon Green or Fotherby
Nicholas Bradebridge
William Smith
Edward Derby
Christopher Massingberd

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 264v

1514/15

Major

John Constable
Simon Green or Fotherby
Nicholas Bradebridge
William Smith
Edward Derby
Christopher Massingberd

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 286v

1515/16

Major

John Constable
Simon Green or Fotherby
Nicholas Bradebridge
William Smith
Edward Derby
Christopher Massingberd

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 310r

1516/17

Major

John Constable
Simon Green or Fotherby
Nicholas Bradebridge
William Smith
Edward Derby

Christopher Massingberd, treasurer

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 332v

1517/18

Major

John Constable
Nicholas Bradebridge
Edward Derby
Simon Green or Fotherby
William Smith
Christopher Massingberd

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 355v

1518/19

Major

John Constable
Nicholas Bradebridge
Edward Derby
Simon Green or Fotherby
Christopher Massingberd, prebendary of Empingham

Minor

William Smith

LCL D&C Bj/3/3

fo. 378v

1519/20

Major

John Constable
Nicholas Bradebridge
Edward Derby
Simon Green or Fotherby
Christopher Massingberd

Minor

None

LCL D&C Bj/3/4

Unnumbered folio in accounts for year 1520/21

1520/21

Major

John Constable
Simon Green or Fotherby
Nicholas Bradebridge
Edward Derby
Christopher Massingberd
John Talbot, prebendary of Aylesbury

Minor

None

Appendix 3: Will of Nicholas Wymbysh¹⁰⁸⁶:

LCL D&C A/2/35, fos 87v - 88v

fo. 87v

- 1 In dei *nomine* amen. Ego Nicholas Wymbyssh' archidiaconus Notyngth'
- 2 prebendarius prebende de Keton' in ecclesia cathedrali beate Marie Lincoln'
- 3 ac canonicus in eadem in festo sancti Nicholai Episcopi Anno domini
Millesimo
- 4 CCCC^o sexagesimo et anno regni Regis Henrici sexti tricesimo
- 5 nono compos mentis et sane memorie condo testamentum meum in
- 6 hunc modum. In primis lego et commendo animam meam deo omnipotenti
- 7 beate Marie virgini et sanctis Petro et Paulo Jacobo Nicholao Leonardo et
- 8 Ricardo ac omnibus sanctis corpus que meum ad sepeliendum ubi deus
disposuerit.
- 9 Item lego vicario sancti Dunstani in le West London' pro oblitis et nomine
- 10 principalis mei xl. s. Item lego pro D. missis pro anima mea et animabus
parentum
- 11 meorum et animabus Petri Preston' et Johannis Squery ac animabus
parochianorum
- 12 meorum et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in honore quinque
vulnerum Ihesu
- 13 Christi per Fratres et alios capellanos cum omni festinatione post mortem
meam
- 14 celebrandis xl. s. vel plus. Item lego pro totidem Missis pro anima mea et
animabus
- 15 predictis in forma predicta celebrandis in honore quinque gaudiorum beate
Marie virginis
- 16 tantum. Item lego pro totidem Missis pro anima mea et animabus predictis in
forma
- 17 predicta celebrandis in honore omnium sanctorum tantum. Item lego
custodibus Frater-
- 18 nitatis beati Petri de Cornhill' London' vj. s. viij. d. Item lego custodibus

¹⁰⁸⁶ This is the modern form of the name used in BRUO3.

19 *Fraternitatis sancti Dunstani in le West London' vj. s. viij. d. Item ordino*
 20 *pro expensis pro exequiis meis faciendis xl. li. Item ad distribuendum*
 [sic]¹⁰⁸⁷ *inter*
 21 *pauperes die obitus mei C. s. Item lego Fabrice ecclesie de Haukesworth'*
 22 *ubi natus fui xl. s. Item lego duobus Capellanis divina pro anima mea et*
 23 *animabus predicis in Capella sancti Leonardi de Stoke celebraturis per*
unum annum
 24 *xiiij. marcas. Item lego ad distribuendum inter pauperes dicte ville de*
Haukes-
 25 *worth xxx. s. Item lego ad distribuendum inter pauperes homines ville*
 26 *de Stoke xxx. s. inter pauperes homines de Flyntham' xx. s. inter pauperes*
 27 *de Sibthorp' xx. s. Item Custodi et Capellanis Cantarie de Sibthorp'*
 28 *xl. s. Item inter pauperes de Thoreton' xx. s. inter pauperes de Skeryng-*
 29 *ton' xx. s. inter pauperes de Eyleston' xx. s. inter pauperes de Thorp'*
 30 *x. s. inter pauperes de Shelton' x. s. inter pauperes de Farendon' x. s.*
 31 *inter pauperes de Howeton' xx. s. inter pauperes de Cotom' xx s. inter*
 32 *pauperes de Sireston' x. s. Item lego ad distribuendum inter pauperes*
 33 *de Pery et Yerdeley C. s. et Fabrice eiusdem ville de Pery C. s.*
 34 *Item lego ad distribuendum [sic]¹⁰⁸⁸ inter pauperes de Hampslape C. s. Item*
 35 *inter pauperes de Olnay C. s. Item ad distribuendum¹⁰⁸⁹ inter Capellanos*
 36 *seculares parochiarum vicinarum die sepulture mee xl. s. videlicet cuilibet*
 37 *eorum iiij. d. Item lego Thome Wymbyssh' filio Johannis fratris mei*
 38 *Registrum meum et meum librum statutorum quos libros idem Johannes*

fo. 88r

39 *scripsit. Item lego ad emendandum pontes et vias in valle de Bever'*
 40 *ubi magis necesse fuerit secundum dispositionem executorum meorum C. s.*
Item
 41 *lego et assigno pro decem Capellanus [sic]¹⁰⁹⁰ ydoneis in universitatibus*
 [sic]¹⁰⁹¹ *Oxon' et*

¹⁰⁸⁷ distribuendum

¹⁰⁸⁸ distribuendum

¹⁰⁸⁹ distribuendum

¹⁰⁹⁰ Capellanis

- Cantebr'
- 42 scolatizantibus graduatis *et* non promotis C. marcas videlicet cuilibet eorum
C. s.
- 43 divina pro anima mea *et* animabus predictis per unum annum celebraturis.
Item lego
- 44 Johanni filio Johannis Fratris mei x. marcas. Item do *et* lego pro reparacione
et
sustenacione¹⁰⁹²
- 45 pontis de Olnay xx. li. Item do *et* lego filiis *et* filiabus Willelmi Wyngefeld'
46 x. li. Item cuilibet Ordini Fratrum domorum Lincoln' x. marcas. Item
prisonariis
- 47 in prison' ibidem existentibus xx. s. Item do *et* lego pro amortizacione ten'
que
- 48 Ricardus Craunton' de Olnay proponit dare in auxilium sustentacionis
Capellani
- 49 Cantarie in Capella beate Marie virginis in Cimiterio de Olnay ab antiquo
50 fundata *et* eius successorum ibidem divina celebraturorum imperpetuum xx.
li. *et* aliter non.
- 51 Item Thome Burton' servienti meo C. s. Residuum vero omnium bonorum
52 meorum volo *et* ordino quod distribuatur *et* expendatur iuxta discretionem
executorum
- 53 meorum quos facio *et* constituo Johannem Breten' clericum Thomam
Wym-
- 54 byysh' Johannem Eyleston' Robertum Sherp' clericum *et* Thomam Boston'
Capel-
- 55 lanum ad premissa omnia *et* singula necnon omnia alia in quadam cedula
56 huic testamento annexata contenta fideliter faciendum *et* disponendum ad
ho-
- 57 norem dei *et* beate Marie virginis ac sancte Marie Magdalene in Cuius
58 honore Prioratus de Nocton' est fundatus. In Cuius rei testimonium huic
59 presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Roberto
Stevenot

¹⁰⁹¹ universitatibus

¹⁰⁹² sustentacione

- 60 Capellano Thoma Burton' *et aliis*. Dat' apud Lincoln' die *et anno*
supradictis.
[in margin – Codicill' *et cetera eiusdem testamenti*]
- 61 Et in super do *et* lego Roberto Sherp' Clerico meam bibliam quam
Cancellarius
- 62 ecclesie Cathedralis Lincoln' *habet ad exorandum pro animabus mei*
parentum et benefactorum meorum
- 63 ac Thome Savage Clerici. Item lego Thome Boston' Capellano xl. li. ad
64 scolatizandum in altera universitatuum Oxon' vel Cantubrig' ita quod
specialiter oret
- 65 *et celebret pro anima mea et animabus parentum et benefactorum meorum, et*
meum por-
- 66 tiferium parvum coopertum cum rubio panno. Item lego Johanni Eyleston'
xx. iiij. li.
- 67 unum lectum meam terciam togam *et illum Craterem cum cooperculo*
pounced¹⁰⁹³ quem
- 68 michi dedit¹⁰⁹⁴ Domina Deyncourt ea intentione quod ipse assumat super se
ad-
- 69 ministracionem bonorum meorum *et fideliter adiuvat Priorem et*
Conventum
- 70 de Nocton' Park' ad amortizandum terras tenementa *et redditus de*
WaterWyl-
- 71 lughby *et Osberneby eisdem Priori et Conventui ex eorum expensis*
- 72 Item lego Nicholao Wyngefeld' servienti meo xl. marcas cum vadiis suis

fo. 88v

- 73 pro illo quarterio anni in quo dominus me ad suam misericordiam suscipiet.
Item
- 74 lego Thome Askewith C. s. cum vadiis suis *et cetera*. Item lego Willelmo
Mor-
- 75 gon' quinque marcas cum vadiis suis *et cetera*. Item lego Ricardo Kyngesley
quatuor

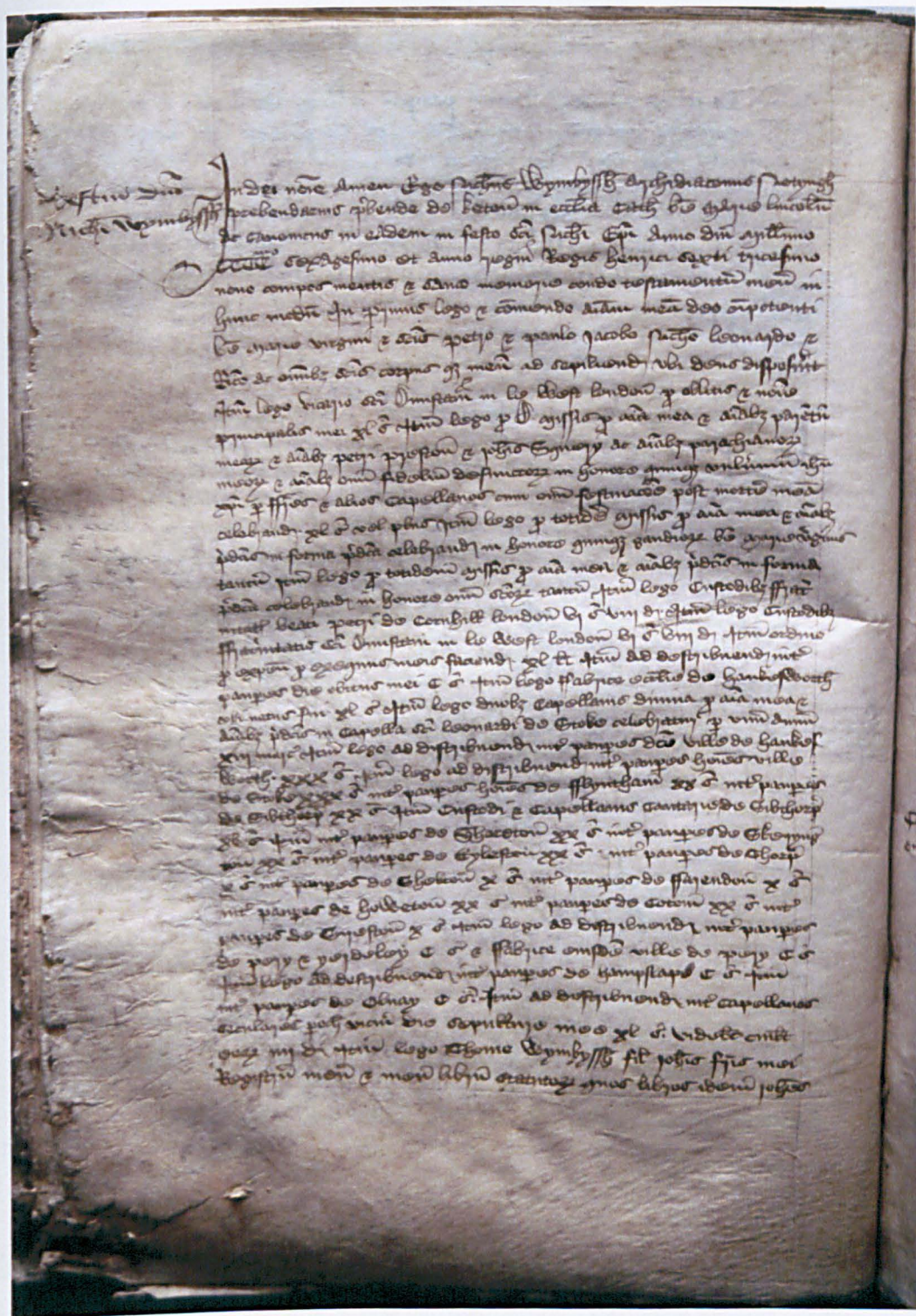
¹⁰⁹³ English word meaning embossed or chased by way of ornament (see *OED*)

¹⁰⁹⁴ Altered in MS from 'debet'

- 76 *marcas cum vadiis suis et cetera. Item lego uxori Thome Wymbyssh' meam*
 77 *optimam togam, unum Nutte¹⁰⁹⁵ coopertum palizatum et deauratum vj*
coclearia
 78 *de argento et unum novum hernesium pro uno singulo. Item lego uxori*
 79 *Johannis Eyleston' meam secundam [togam]¹⁰⁹⁶, unum Craterem concavum*
vocatur a milkdissh'
 80 *et unum Tike pro uno Fetherbedde. Item lego uxori Nicholai Hodelston'*
unum
 81 *craterem et unam togam. Item lego Roberto Lincoln' Capellano unum*
Craterem
 82 *cum uno flore de columbyne in fundo. Item lego meum quotidianum*
missale
 83 *parochianis ecclesie de Eyleston' ut ibidem specialiter orent pro animabus*
mei, parentum
 84 *et hugonis Fratris mei. Item lego magne Gilde beate Marie Lincoln'*
murram
 85 *novam quam nuper feci fieri et vj coclearia de argento. Item lego Cristi-*
 86 *ane Barowe unam togam.*

¹⁰⁹⁵ A drinking cup made from a coconut (See *MED*, *sub* note)

¹⁰⁹⁶ Word omitted from MS



Images reproduced with the kind permission of LCL.

Expendit
(Apparatus
sp.)

[illegible]

Appendix 4: Will of Ellen Retford¹⁰⁹⁷: LCL D&C

A/2/35, fo. 95v

- 1 In dei nomine Amen. Quarto die mensis Marcii Anno Domini Millesimo
CCCC^o
- 2 sexagesimo. Ego Elena Retford quondam uxor Henrici Retforde Militis
in bo-
- 3 na *et* sana memoria existens, diligenti *et* matura deliberatione *præhabita*
condo *et* ordino
- 4 testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego *et* commendo animam
meam deo
- 5 omnipotenti ac beatissime virgini Marie *et* omnibus sanctis eius corpus que
meum ad sepeliendum
- 6 infra ecclesiam Cathedralē beate Marie Lincoln' iuxta ostium Australem
cum licencia Capituli
- 7 *et* magistrorum fabrice. Item lego fabrice ecclesie cathedralis predictæ pro
sepultura mea
- 8 in eadem quadraginta solidos. Item lego summo altari ecclesie Cathedralis
beate Marie Lincoln'
- 9 antedictæ unam torquem vel catenam auream *et* unum monile aureum.
Item lego
- 10 ecclesie de Estham in Worhall' unum vestimentum de viridi damasco. Item
lego ecclesie
- 11 De Braughton' unum vestimentum rubii coloris cum una capa. Item lego
cuilibet
- 12 ordini Fratrum mendicantium infra Lincoln' tres solidos *et* quatuor
denarios. Item lego
- 13 Anachorite infra Lincoln' predictam existenti tres solidos quatuor denarios.
Item lego
- 14 sororibus sancte Katerine extra Lincoln' custodientibus orphanos *et*
pupillos tres solidos

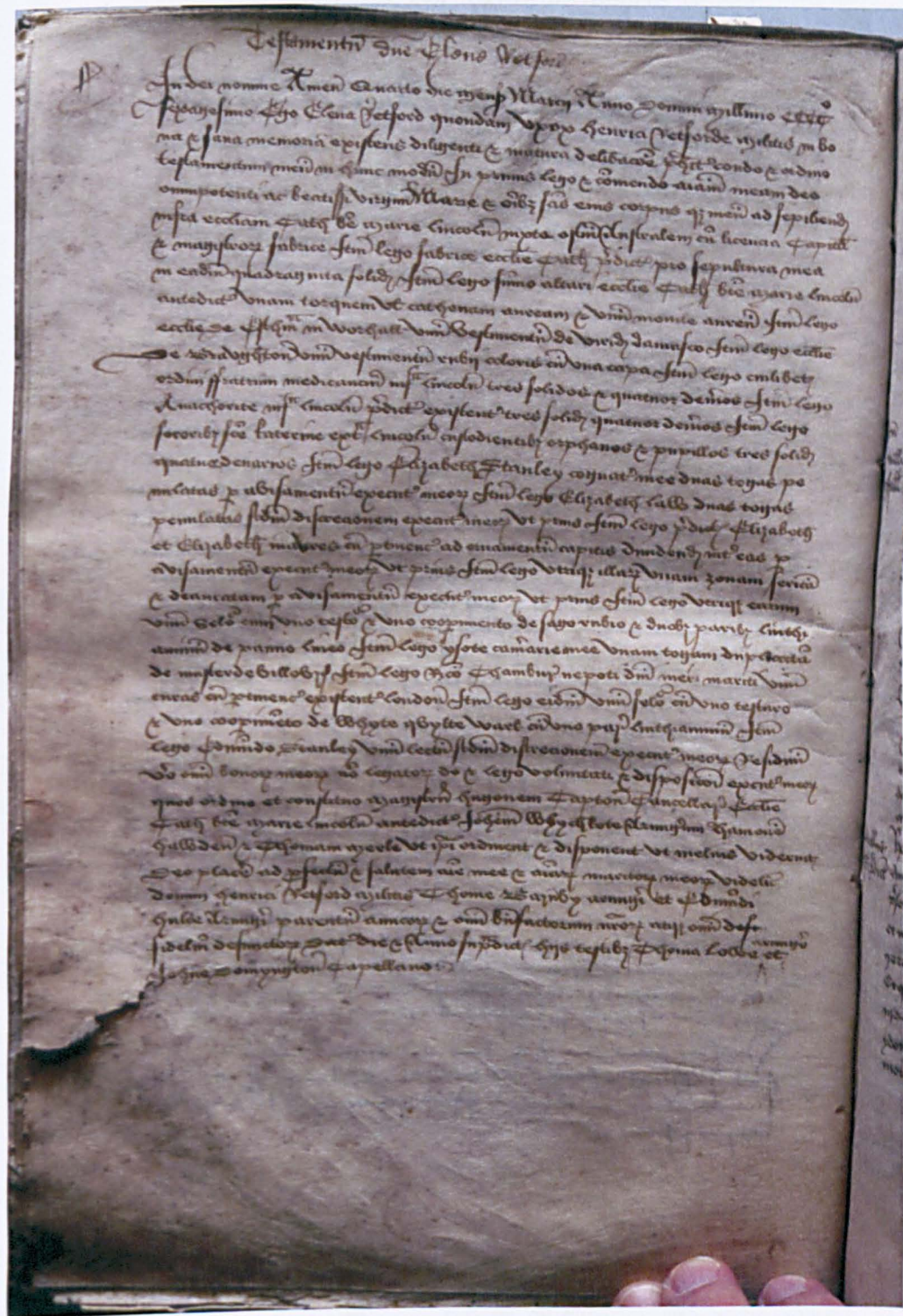
¹⁰⁹⁷ This is the modern form of the name used in *SO.1113*.

- 15 quatuor denarios. Item lego Elizabethhe Stanley cognate mee duas togas
pe-
- 16 nulas *per* avisamentum *executorum meorum*. Item lego Elizabethhe Law
duas togas
- 17 penulas *secundum* discretionem *executorum meorum* ut prius. Item lego
predictis Elizabethhe
- 18 *et* Elizabethhe inares *cum* *pertinenciis* ad ornamentum capitis dividendas
inter eas *per*
- 19 avisamentum *executorum meorum* ut prius. Item lego utrique illarum unam
zonam sericam
- 20 *et* deauratam *per* avisamentum *executorum meorum* ut prius. Item lego
utrique earum
- 21 unum selorium cum uno testuro *et* uno cooperimento de sago rubio *et*
duobus paribus linthi-
- 22 aminum de panno lineo. Item lego Ysote camerarie mee unam togam
duplicatam
- 23 de musterde villovres.¹⁰⁹⁸ Item lego Ricardo Chambur' nepoti domini mei
mariti unum
- 24 curas [sic]¹⁰⁹⁹ cum *pertinenciis* existentem London'. Item lego eidem unum
selorium cum uno testuro
- 25 *et* uno cooperimento de 'whyte quylte wark' cum uno pare linthiaminum.
Item
- 26 lego Edmundo Stanley unum lectum *secundum* discretionem *executorum*
meorum. Residuum
- 27 vero omnium bonorum *meorum* non legatorum do *et* lego voluntati *et*
dispositioni *executorum meorum*
- 28 quos ordino *et* constituo Magistrum Hugonem Tapton' Cancellarium
Ecclesie
- 29 Cathedralis beate Marie Lincoln' antedictę Johannem Whyhekote
Armigerum Hamonem
- 30 Hawden' *et* Thomam Merle ut ipsi ordinent *et* disponent ut melius viderint

¹⁰⁹⁸ A kind of woollen cloth originally from Montivilliers in Normandy (see *MLD*, sub 'muster-de-vilers').

¹⁰⁹⁹ A piece of body armour covering the chest and back, (see *MED* sub *curas*)

- 31 Deo placere ad *profectum et salutem anime mee et animarum maritorum*
meorum videlicet
- 32 domini Henrici Retford militis Thome Barnby armigeri et Edmundi
- 33 Hulce Armigeri parentum amicorum et omnium benefactorum nostrorum
atque omnium ~~defi~~[crossed out]
- 34 fidelium defunctorum. Datum die et anno supradictis hiis testibus Thoma
Lowe
[interlinear – armigero] et
- 35 Johame Domyngton' Capellano.



Appendix 5: Ralph Babthorpe¹¹⁰⁰: LCL D&C A/3/4, fo. 37r

- 1 In dei *nomine* Amen. The xviith day of *the* moneth' of Aprile the yere of
our lorde god M'
- 2 CCCCC and ix^d I Rauf Bapthorp of Lincoln' squire of gode state and
helfull remembraunce
- 3 make my last Will in this *maner* and forme. In the first I bequeth' my
[word deleted] soll to
- 4 Almyghty god *and* to his moder saynct Mary and to all the saynctes of god
And my body
- 5 to be buried in cristyn manys mold. *Item* I bequeth' to our lady's work x. s.
Item I
- 6 will that my dettes be fully payed *and* content like as it appereth by writyng
in
- 7 A boke of my dettes. And in case that any ['man' deleted] other' dettes be
asked whiche by
- 8 trew examinacion may be found due and right to be paied, It is then my
will
- 9 that the *parties* be content and agreed *with*. Also if any man compleyn of
any
- 10 Iniury hurt or harme done by me or any of myn under my power whiche
11 shuld be perell or grevaunce to my soul I will that my executor' *and*
ministratours
- 12 make a due restitucion and full satisfaccion. Also I will that a preest have
vij
- 13 markes iij. s. iiij. d. for brede wyne and wax after my decesse to sing oon
yere
- 14 for me and for my fader *and* moder and my gode frendes. Also I will that
15 Ilkon' of the iiij orders of *the* Frers in the citie of Lincoln' have to the
coveunt
- 16 xx. d. Also I will *that* Thomas my son' shall have a whit pece *with* the
17 covering writtyn of the covering benedictus - whiche is an heir' lome and

¹¹⁰⁰ This is the modern form of the name used in *SOA112*.

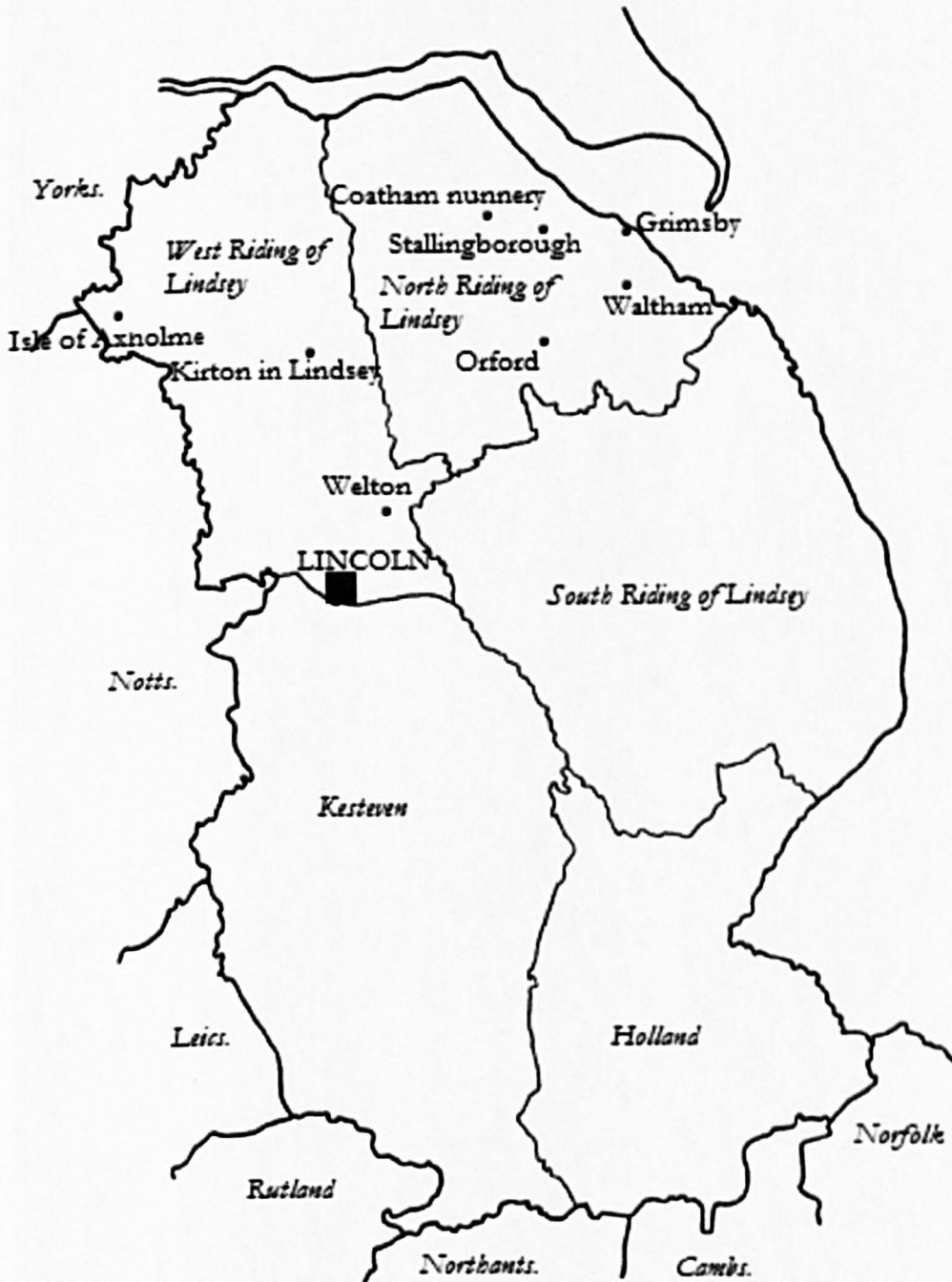
18 so to discende from here to here. Also I will that ['Thomas' deleted] my
 son' Thomas
 19 have vj silver spones *and* a pece gilt *with* an Image of the trinitie in the
 20 knopp.¹¹⁰¹ Also the Residue of my gode*s* not witt and bequethed I give and
 will'
 21 to my son' Thomas Bapthorp, Except a silver spone to Henry Bapthorp
 22 and oon other silver spone to Thomas Bapthorp and an other to Edward
 23 Bapthorp and an other to Richard Bapthorp and oon other silver spone
 24 to Rauf Bapthorp the yonger and that of the best of the forsaid
 25 silver spones. And as¹¹⁰² for the residue of all my moveable gode*s* I will
 that
 26 my son' Thomas Bapthorp whom I mak' my sole executor' have them
 27 and dispose them after his discrecion for the well of my soull as
 28 he thinkes the best. Wittnes herof, sir Thomas Carter and Thomas
 29 Hanworth' and Henry Hawkes and other moo.

1101 An ornamental knob on a cup, spoon, dish, etc (See *MED*, *sub* 'knop(pe)')

1102 Interlineated.

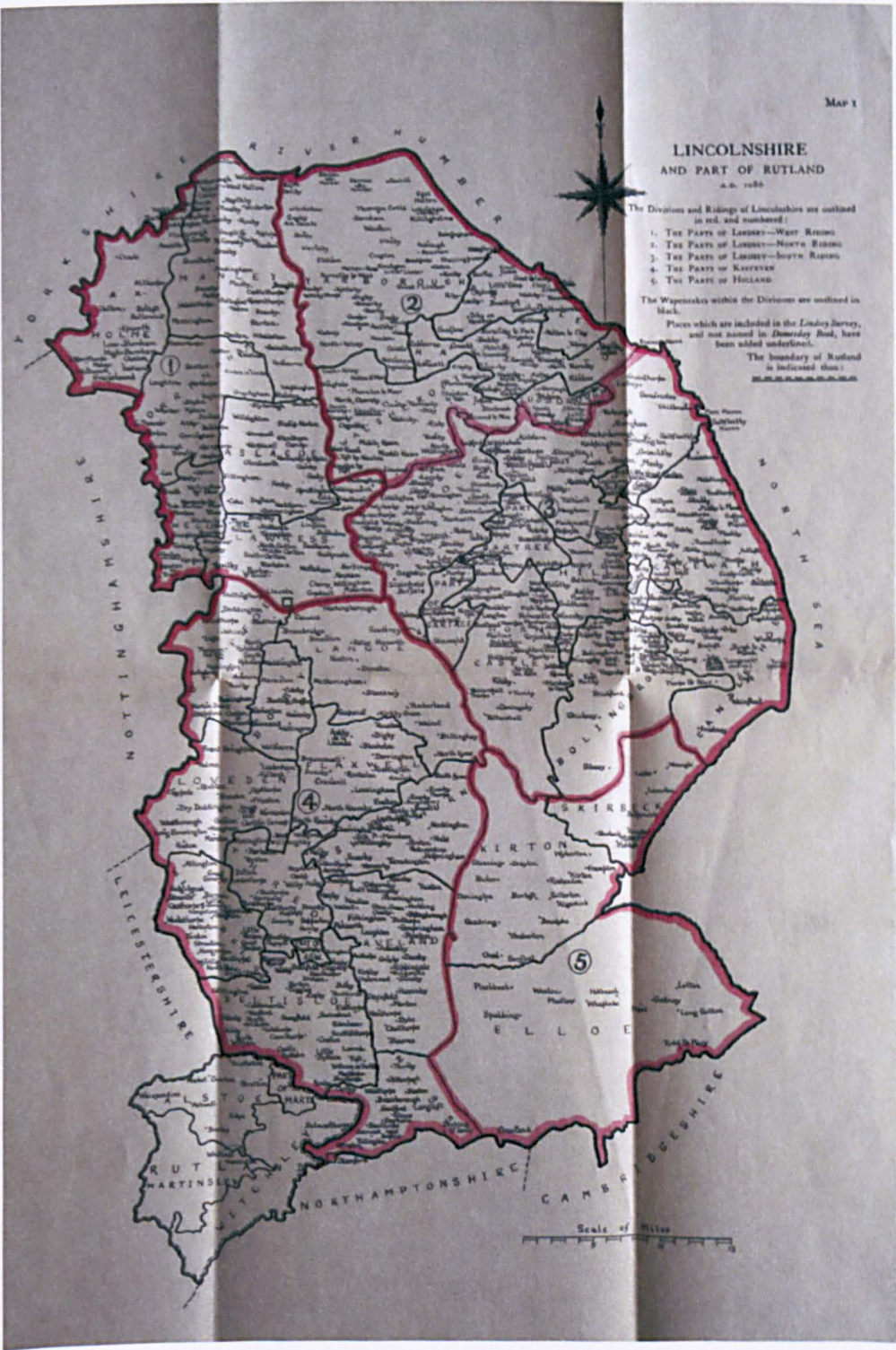
Appendix 6: Maps

Map 1: Robert Ayscogh's connections



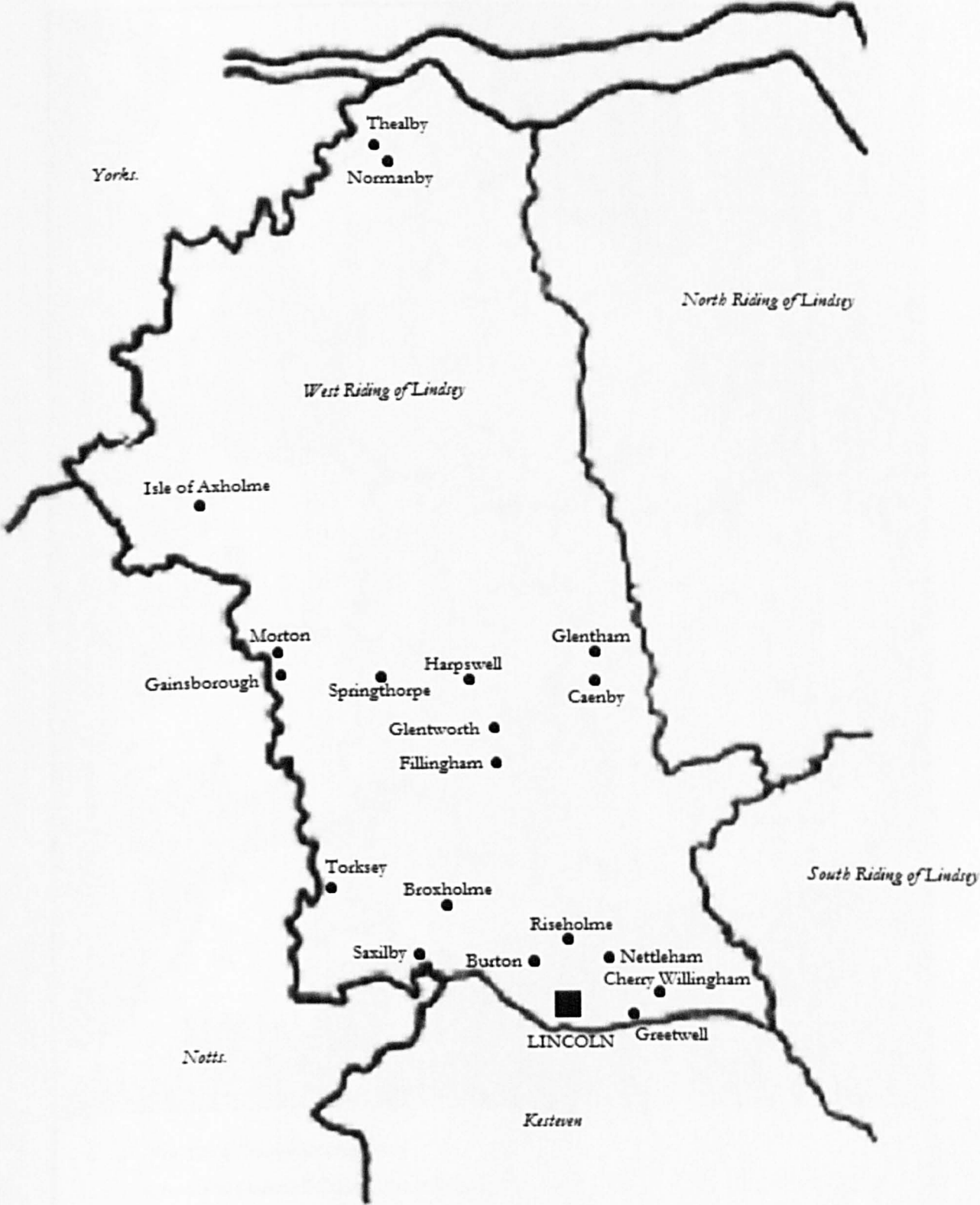
Map reproduced with the kind permission of Johnathan Mackman.

Map 2: Divisions of the county of Lincolnshire
AD1086



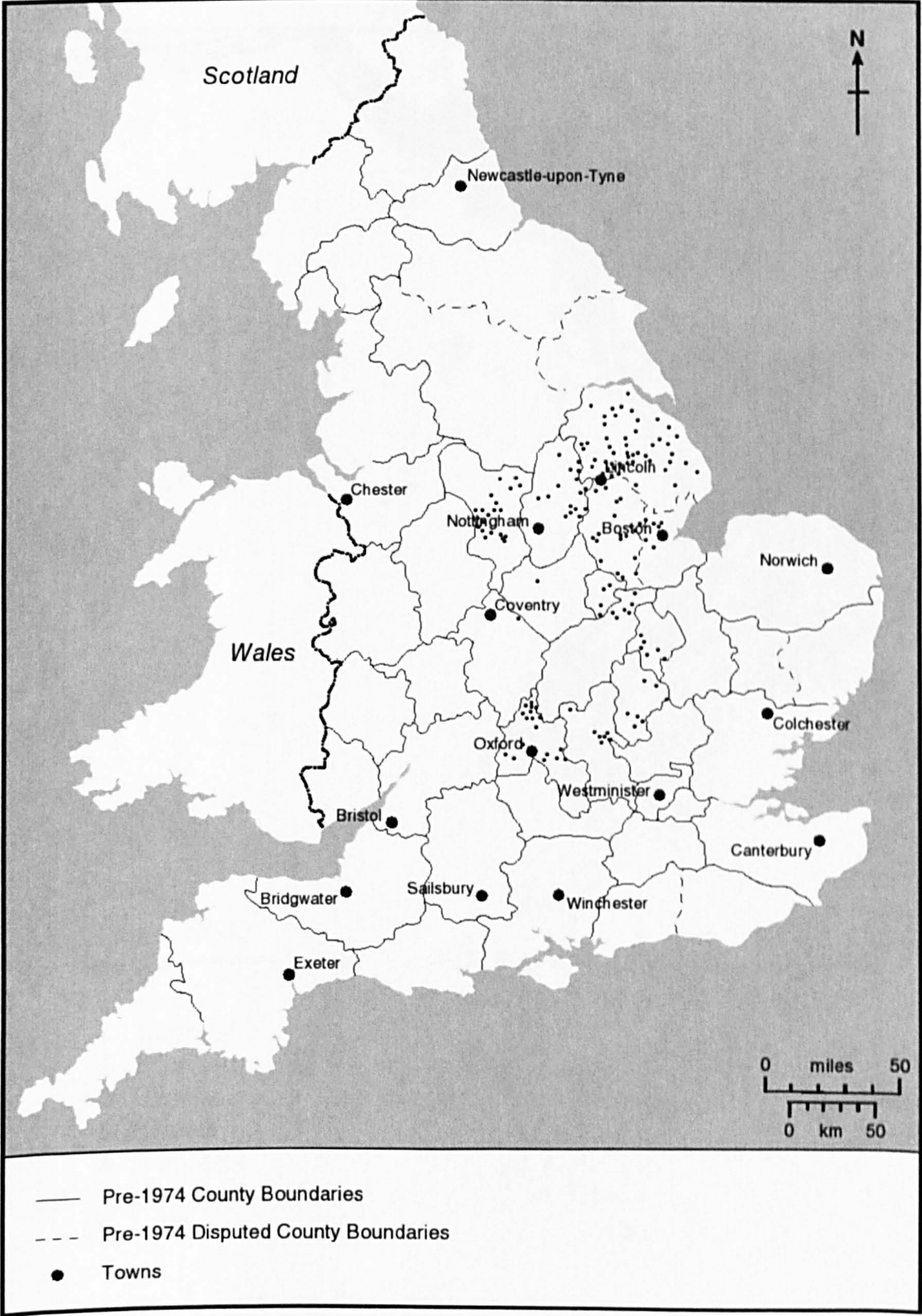
Map reproduced with the kind permission of LCL.

Map 3: Places within the West Riding of Lindsey to which testators had connections



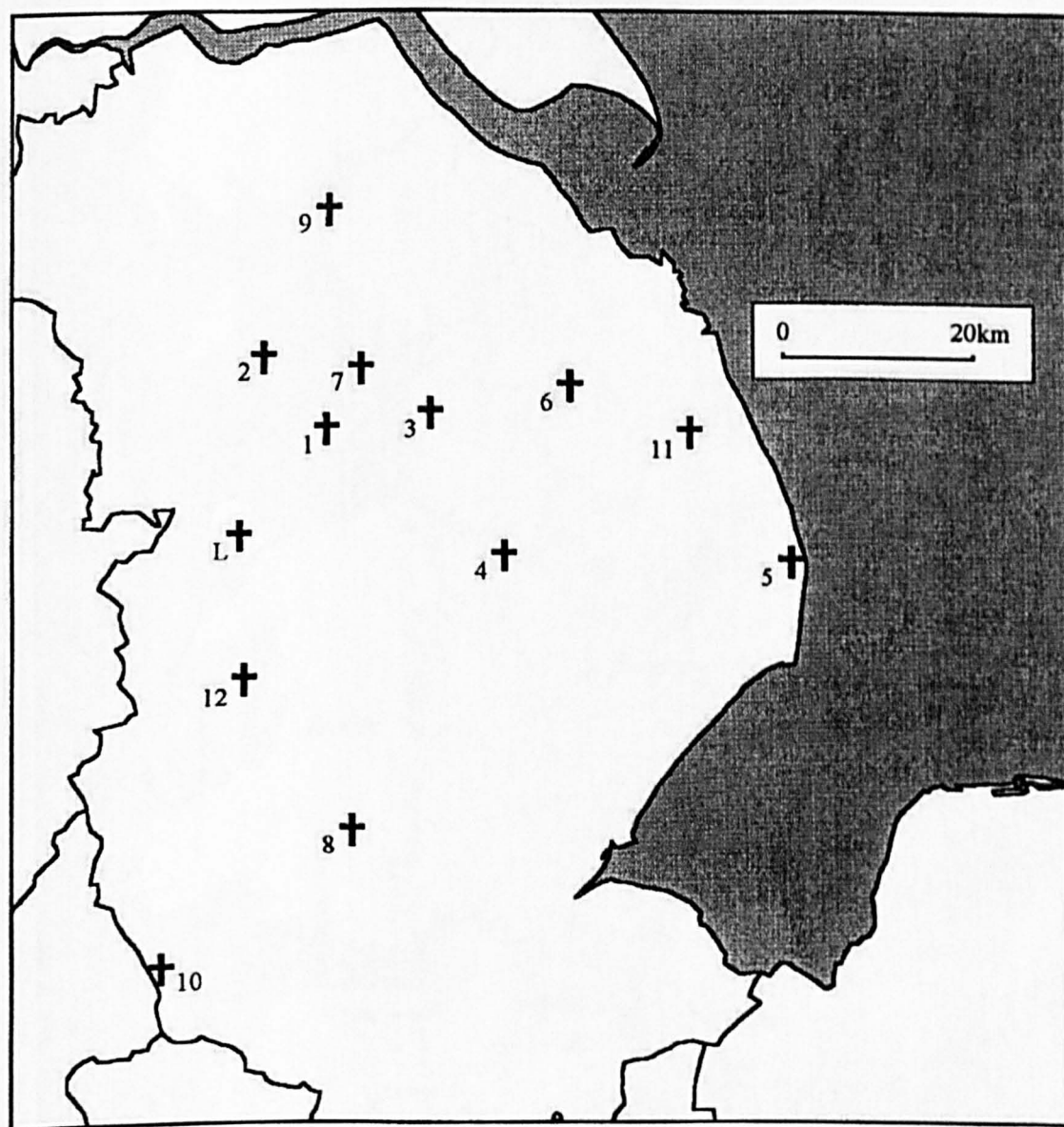
Map reproduced with the kind permission of Johnathan Mackman

Map 4: Parishes and lands linked to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln



Map reproduced with the kind permission of Richard Goddard

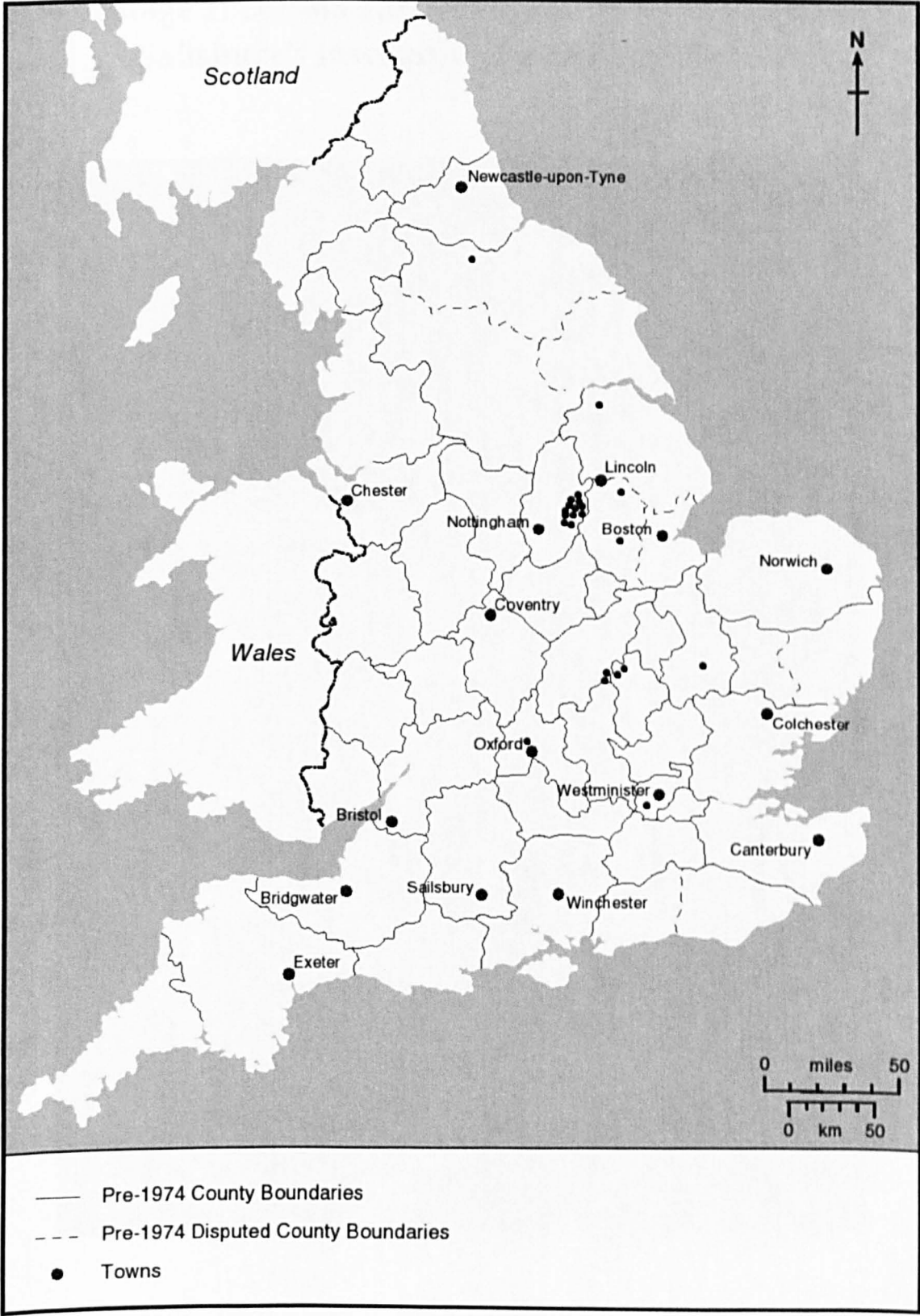
**Map 5: Parishes subject to the jurisdiction of the
Dean and Chapter of Lincoln**



- | | | | |
|---|-------------|----|----------------------|
| L | Lincoln | 7 | Rasen, Market (East) |
| 1 | Friesthorpe | 8 | Scredington |
| 2 | Glentham | 9 | Searby |
| 3 | Hainton | 10 | Skillington |
| 4 | Homcastle | 11 | Strubby |
| 5 | Ingoldmells | 12 | Wellingore |
| 6 | Louth | | |

Taken from Poos, *Lower Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions*, xxii-xxiii.

Map 6: Nicholas Wymbysh's connections



Map reproduced with the kind permission of Richard Goddard

Appendix 7: Images

Image 1: LCL MS 136, volume II, fo. 220r: Thomas Salisbury's inscription (with magnification)

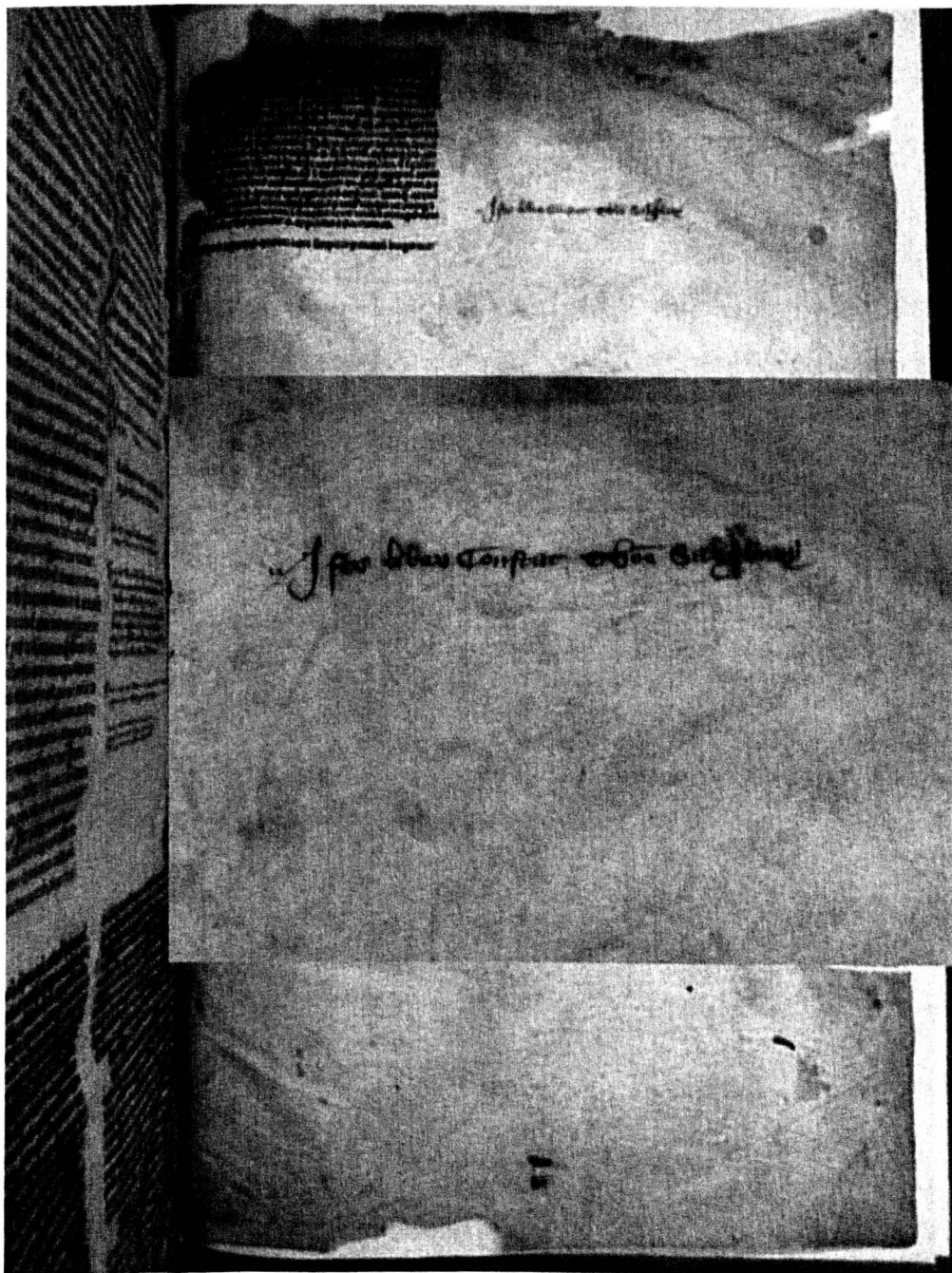


Image reproduced with the kind permission of LCL.

[illegible]

Bibliography

Sources in Manuscript

Lincolnshire Archive Office

LAO FL.a.19, C. W. Foster, 'Unpublished list of wills, probate and administrations in the Lincoln Cathedral chapter acts'.

Lincoln Cathedral Library

Chapter act books

LCL D&C A/2/29
LCL D&C A/2/30
LCL D&C A/2/31
LCL D&C A/2/32
LCL D&C A/2/33
LCL D&C A/2/34
LCL D&C A/2/35
LCL D&C A/2/36
LCL D&C A/2/37
LCL D&C A/3/1
LCL D&C A/3/3
LCL D&C A/3/4

Chapter account books of the common fund

LCL D&C Bj/2/12
LCL D&C Bj/2/13
LCL D&C Bj/2/14
LCL D&C Bj/2/15
LCL D&C Bj/2/16
LCL D&C Bj/3/1
LCL D&C Bj/3/2
LCL D&C Bj/3/3
LCL D&C Bj/3/4

Cartulary of chantries

LCL D&C A/1/8

The National Archives

PCC wills

TNA Prob/11/7, fos 33r-34r

TNA Prob/11/10, fos 15v-16v
TNA Prob/11/10, fos 29v-31v
TNA Prob/11/16, fos 26r-26v
TNA Prob/11/17, fos 33v-34r

Published primary sources

Bailey, D. (ed.), *Wells Cathedral chapter act book 1666-83* (London, 1973).

Bradshaw, H., and C. Wordsworth (ed.), *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, Part II* (Cambridge, 1897).

Calendar of Patent Rolls (London: HMSO, 1891-1986).

Cole, R., (ed.), *Chapter acts of the Cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln A.D. 1520-1559, 3 volumes* (Lincoln, 1915-1920).

Fenwick, C., *The poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, part 2: Lincolnshire-Westmorland* (Oxford, 2001).

Foster, C.W. (ed.), *Lincoln wills registered in the district probate registry at Lincoln, A.D. 1271 to A.D. 1530, 2 volumes* (Lincoln and Horncastle, 1914-1918).

- *Calendars of wills and administrations at Lincoln, volume IV: Archdeaconry of Stow; peculiar courts; and miscellaneous courts* (London, 1930).

Fowler, J. (ed.), *Acts of chapter of the collegiate church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, 1452-1506* (London, 1875).

Hamilton Thompson, A. (ed.), *Visitations of religious houses, volume III, A.D. 1436-1449* (Lincoln, 1929).

Knighton, C. (ed.), *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1543-1642, 3 volumes* (Woodbridge, 1997-2006).

Leach, A. (ed.), *Visitations and memorials of Southwell Minster* (London, 1891).

- *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the chapter act book of the collegiate church of St John of Beverley A.D. 1286-1347, 2 volumes* (London, 1898-1903).

Le Neve, J., and King, H. P. F., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, 1: Lincoln diocese* (London, 1962).

Le Neve, J., and B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Coventry and Lichfield diocese* (London, 1964).

Le Neve, J., and D. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, 1: St Paul's, London* (London, 1968).

Le Neve, J., and Greenway, D., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, 3: *Lincoln* (London, 1977).

Le Neve, J., and D. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, 4: *Salisbury* (London, 1991).

Le Neve, J., and Greenway, D., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1066-1300, 6: *York* (London, 1999).

Major, K., (ed.), *The Registrum antiquissimum of the cathedral church of Lincoln*, 3 volumes (Lincoln, 1958-1973).

McHardy, A. (ed.), *Clerical poll-taxes of the diocese of Lincoln 1377-1381* (Woodbridge, 1992).

Peckham, W., (ed.), *The acts of the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Chichester, 1472-1544, The white act books* (Cambridge, 1951).

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Salisbury: the houses of the close* (London, 1993).

Salter, H., (ed.), *A subsidy collected in the diocese of Lincoln in 1526* (Oxford, 1909).

Sanderson, R., *Lincoln Cathedral: an exact copy of all the ancient monumental inscriptions there, as they stood in MDCXLI: collected by Robert Sanderson and compared and corrected by Sir W. Dugdale's MS survey* (London, 1851).

Sargent, M., (ed.), *Nicholas Love's mirror of the blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (London, 1992).

Toulmin-Smith, J., *English gilds* (London, 1870).

Twemlow, J., *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters, volume IX A.D. 1431-1447* (London, 1912).

Twemlow, J., *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters 1471-1484* (London, 1955).

Wordsworth, C., 'Inventories of plate, vestments etc. belonging to the Cathedral church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln', *Archaeologia*, 53 (1892):1-82.

Secondary sources

Acheson, E., *A gentry community, Leicestershire in the fifteenth century c. 1422-1485* (Cambridge, 1992).

Allan, J., and M. Dyer, 'The medieval gatehouse of the chancellor's house, cathedral close, Exeter', *Devon Archaeological Society*, 63 (2005):93-102.

- Andrews, F., *The other friars, the Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied friars in the middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).
- Archer, R., and Ferme, B., 'Testamentary procedure with special reference to the executrix', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 15 (1989):3-34.
- Arnold, J., *Belief and unbelief in medieval Europe* (London, 2005).
- Arnold-Foster, F., *Studies in church dedications or England's patron saints, volume 1* (London, 1899).
- Aston, T., 'Oxford's medieval alumni', *Past and Present* 74 (1977):3-40.
- Aston, T., Duncan, G., and Evans T., 'The medieval alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present* 86 (1980):9-86.
- Atherton, I., 'The close' in I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and A. Smith (ed.) *Norwich Cathedral: church, city and diocese, 1096-1996* (London, 1996):634-664.
- Atkinson, T., 'Winchester Cathedral close', *Papers & Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 15/1 (1941):9-26.
- Barnes, J., 'Class and committees in a Norwegian island parish', *Human Relations*, 7 (1954):39-58.
- 'Networks and political process' in J. Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: analyses of personal relationships in central African towns* (New York, 1969):51-76.
- Barron, C., 'London and St Paul's Cathedral in the later middle ages' in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The medieval English cathedral: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig: proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2003):126-149.
- Barron, C., and M. Hélène Rousseau, 'Cathedral, city and state, 1300-1540' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004):33-44.
- Barton, J., 'The study of civil law before 1380' in J. Catto (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 1: the early Oxford schools* (Oxford, 1984):519-530.
- Barrow, J., 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century German and English practice', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986):536-564.
- 'Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England', *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000):23-40.
- 'The origins of the vicars choral to c.1300' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral at English Cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005):11-16.

- Berend, N., 'Violence as identity: Christians and Muslims in Hungary in the medieval and early modern period', *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013):1-13.
- Biller, P., 'Popular religion in the central and later Middle ages' in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to historiography* (London, 1997):221-246.
- Bell, D., 'Monastic libraries: 1400-1557' in L. Hellinga and J. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain, volume 3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999):229-254.
- Boissevain, J., *Friends of friends: networks, manipulators and coalitions* (Oxford, 1974).
- Bossy, J., 'Blood and baptism: kinship, community and Christianity in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries' in D. Baker (ed.) *Sanctity and secularity: the Church and the world* (Oxford, 1973):129-144.
- 'The Mass as a social institution 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983):29-61.
- Bott, E., *Family and social network: roles, norms and external relationships in ordinary urban families* (Oxford, 1957).
- Bowdon, L., 'Redefining kinship: exploring boundaries of relatedness in late medieval New Romney', *Journal of Family History*, 29 (2004):407-420.
- Bowers, R., 'Music and worship to 1640', in D. Owen (ed.) *A history of Lincoln minster* (Cambridge, 1994):47-76.
- Bowker, M., *The secular clergy in the diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968).
- *The Henrician reformation: the diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge, 1981).
- 'Historical survey 1450-1750' in D. Owen (ed.), *A history of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994):164-210.
- Brooke, C., 'The archdeacon and the Norman conquest' in D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (eds.), *Tradition and change: essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall presented by her friends on the occasion of her seventieth birthday* (Cambridge, 1985):1-19.
- Brown, A., *Popular piety in late medieval England: the diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995).
- Brundage, J., *Medieval canon law* (2nd edn., London, 1996).
- *The Medieval origins of the legal profession* (London, 2008).
- Bullough, V., 'On being a male in the middle ages' in C. Lees, T. Fenster and J. McNamara (eds.) *Medieval masculinities: regarding men in the middle ages* (London, 1994):31-45.

- Burgess, C., '“For the increase of divine service”: chantries in the parish in late medieval Bristol', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36/1 (1985):46-65.
- 'A service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 105 (1987):183-211.
 - '“By Quick and by Dead”: wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987):837-858.
 - '“A fond thing vainly invented”: an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England' in S.J. Wright (ed.), *Parish, church and people - local studies in lay religion 1350-1750* (London, 1988):56-79.
 - 'Late medieval wills and pious convention: testamentary evidence reconsidered' in M. Hicks (ed.) *Profit, piety and the professions in later medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990):14-33.
 - '“Longing to be prayed for”: death and commemoration in an English parish in the later middle ages' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000):44-65.
 - 'An afterlife in memory: commemoration and its effects in a late medieval parish' in P. Clarke and T. Claydon (eds.), *The Church, the afterlife and the fate of the soul: papers read at the 2007 summer meeting and the 2008 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Woodbridge, 2009):196-217.
- Bussby, F., *Winchester Cathedral 1079-1979* (Southampton, 1979).
- Buxton, J., and Williams, P., *New College Oxford, 1379-1979* (Oxford, 1979).
- Caldwell Ames, C., 'Medieval religious, religions, religion', *History Compass* 10/4 (2012):334-352.
- Cameron K., and S. Kahrl, 'The N-Town plays at Lincoln', *Theatre Notebook* 20/2 (1965):61-69.
- Cameron, K., *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names* (Nottingham, 1998).
- Campbell, J., 'Norwich before 1300' in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London, 2004):29-48.
- Carpenter, C., *Locality and polity: a study of Warwickshire landed society, 1401 – 1499* (Cambridge, 1992).
- *Stonor letters and papers 1290-1483* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Carruthers, M., and J. Ziolkowski 'General introduction' in M. Carruthers and J. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The medieval craft of memory: an anthology of texts and pictures* (Philadelphia, 2004):1-31.

- Catto, J., 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356-1430' in J. Catto and T. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992):175-261.
- Chartier, R., 'Culture as appropriation: popular cultural uses in early modern France' in S. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding popular culture: Europe from the middle ages to the nineteenth century* (Berlin, 1984):229-253.
- Cherry, J., 'Dress and adornment' in R. Marks and P. Williams (eds.), *Gothic art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003):326-333.
- Chiffolleau, J., *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 - vers 1480)* (Rome, 1980).
- Churchill, I., *Canterbury administration: the administrative machinery of the archbishopric of Canterbury illustrated from original records, volume 1* (London, 1933).
- Clark, E., 'Charitable bequests, deathbed land sales, and the manor court in later medieval England' in Z Razi and R. Smith (eds.), *Medieval society and the manor court* (Oxford, 1996):143-161.
- Clarke, J., 'Introduction: the religious orders in pre-reformation England' in J. Clark (ed.), *The religious orders in pre-reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002):3-33.
- Classen, A., 'The world of the Turks described by an eye-witness: Georgius de Hungaria's dialectical discourse on the foreign world of the Ottoman empire', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 7/3 (2003):252-279.
- Clay, R., *The hermits and anchorites of England* (London, 1914).
- Clough, C., 'Flemming, Robert (1416-1483)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):80-82.
- Coates, A., et al, *A catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Bodleian Library, volume 1* (Oxford, 2005).
- Cobban, A., 'Reflections on the role of the medieval universities in contemporary society' in L. Smith and B. Ward (eds.), *Intellectual life in the middle ages: essays presented to Margaret Gibson* (London, 1992):227-241.
- Cole, R., 'The priory of St Katherine without Lincoln, of the order of St Gilbert of Sempringham', *Lincolnshire Archaeological and Architectural Society Reports and Papers*, 27/2 (1904):264-336.
- Cooper, T., 'Oligarchy and conflict: Lichfield cathedral clergy in the early sixteenth century', *Midland History*, 19 (1994):40-57.
- Coss, P., *The origins of the English gentry* (Cambridge, 2003).

- 'An age of deference' in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006):31-73.

Coster, W., *Family and kinship in England 1450-1800* (Harlow, 2001).

Coulson, C., 'Hierarchism in conventual crenellation: an essay in the sociology and metaphysics of medieval fortification', *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1982):69-100.

Courtenay, W., *Schools and scholars in fourteenth-century England* (New Jersey, 1987).

Cressy, D., 'Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986):38-69.

Cross, C., 'Monasticism and society in the diocese of York 1520-1540', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series/38 (1988):131-145.

- 'York clergy and their books in the early sixteenth century' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson: proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2002):344-354.

Cross, F., and Livingstone, E., (eds.), *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1997).

Cubitt, G., *History and memory* (Manchester, 2007).

Cullum, P., '“And hir name was charite”: charitable giving by and for women in late medieval Yorkshire', in P. Goldberg (ed.), *Woman is a worthy wight: women in English society c.1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992):182-211.

- 'Clergy, masculinity and transgression in late medieval England' in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999):178-196.

- 'Learning to be a man, learning to be a priest in late medieval England' in S. Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and literacy in medieval England and abroad* (Brepols, 2003):135-154.

- 'Boy/man into clerk/priest: the making of the late medieval clergy' in N. McDonald and W. Ormrod (eds.), *Rites of passage: cultures of transition in the fourteenth Century* (York, 2004):51-66.

Cullum, P., and P. Goldberg, 'Charitable provision in late medieval York: “to the praise of God and the use of the poor”', *Northern History*, 29 (1993):24-39.

Daniell, C., *Death and burial in medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1999).

Davis, V., 'The lesser clergy in the later middle ages' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004):157-161.

d'Avray, D., *Medieval religious rationalities: a Weberian analysis* (Cambridge, 2010).

Dickens, A., *The English reformation* (London, 1964).

Dinn, R., 'Baptism, spiritual kinship, and popular religion in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 72/3 (1990):93-106.

- '“Monuments answerable to mens worth”: burial patterns, social status and gender in late medieval Bury St Edmunds', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995):237-55.

Dobson, R. B., 'The foundation of perpetual chantries by the citizens of medieval York' in G. Cuming (ed.), *The Province of York* (Leiden, 1967):22-38.

- 'The later middle ages, 1215-1500' in G. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.), *A history of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977):44-109.

- 'The residentiary canons of York in the fifteenth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30/2 (1979):145-174.

- 'Cathedral chapters and cathedral cities: York, Durham and Carlisle in the fifteenth century', *Northern History*, 19 (1983):15-44.

- 'Recent prosopographical research in late medieval English history: university graduates, Durham monks and York canons' in N. Bulst and J. Genêt (eds.) *Medieval lives and the historian, studies in medieval prosopography* (Kalamazoo, 1986):181-200.

- 'Citizens and chantries in late medieval York' in D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (eds.), *Church and city, 1000-1500: essays in honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge, 1992):311-332.

- '“The clergy are well lodged”: the transformation of the cathedral precinct at late medieval Durham' in J. Backhouse (ed.), *The medieval English cathedral: papers in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig: proceedings of the 1998 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2003):23-40.

- 'The English vicars choral: an introduction' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral at English Cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005):1-10.

Duffy, E., *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (2nd edn., London, 1993).

- 'Late Medieval Religion' in R. Marks and P. Williams (eds.), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003):56-67.

Duffy, E., 'Elite and popular religion: the book of hours and lay piety in the later middle ages' in C. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.) *Elite and popular religion: papers read at the 2004 summer meeting and the 2005 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Woodbridge, 2006):140-161.

- Dyer, C., *Standards of living in the later middle ages, social change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989).
- 'Luxury goods in medieval England' in B. Dodds and C. Liddy (eds.), *Commercial activity, markets and entrepreneurs in the middle ages, essays in honour of Richard Britnell* (Woodbridge, 2011):217-238.
- Edwards, K., *The English secular cathedrals in the middle ages: a constitutional study with special reference to the 14th century* (2nd edn., Manchester, 1967).
- *Salisbury Cathedral, an ecclesiastical history* (Oxford, 1986).
- Egan, G., 'Luxury lifestyle in medieval London, archaeological evidence c.1200-1600' in *Lübecker kolloquium zur stadarchäologie im hanseraum VI: luxus und lifestyle* (Lübeck, 2008):43-62.
- Ekwall, E., *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (4th edn., Oxford, 1974).
- Elliott, D., 'Marriage' in C. Dinshaw and D. Wallace (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to medieval women's writing* (Cambridge, 2003):40-57.
- Elsbeth, S., 'The religious houses of Lincolnshire' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):78-80.
- Elton, G., *Reform and reformation: England 1509-1558* (London, 1977).
- Emden, A. B., *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 volume I* (Oxford, 1957).
- *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 volume 2* (Oxford, 1958).
- *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 volume 3* (Oxford, 1959).
- *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).
- Van Engen, J., 'The future of medieval Church history', *Church History*, 71/3 (2002):492-522.
- Epstein, A., 'The network and urban social organization' in J. Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: analyses of personal relationships in central African towns* (New York, 1969):77-116.
- Evans, T., 'The number, origins and careers of scholars' in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2, late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992):485-538.
- Farnhill, K., 'Clergy and laity in late medieval East Anglian guilds', *Norfolk Archaeology* 44/2 (2003):292-303.

Fentress J., and C. Wickham (eds.), *Social memory: new perspectives on the past* (Oxford, 1992).

Fleming, P., *Family and household in medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2000).

Fletcher, J., 'The faculty of arts' in T. Aston and J. Catto (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 1: the early Oxford schools* (Oxford, 1984):369-399.

Flynn, J., 'The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century' in J. Morehen (ed), *English choral practice c.1400-c.1650: a memorial volume to Peter le Huray* (Cambridge, 1995):180-199.

Foister, S., 'Private devotion' in R. Marks and P. Williams (ed.), *Gothic art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003):334-347.

Ford, J., 'Art and identity in the parish communities of late medieval Kent' in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and the arts: papers read at the 1990 summer Meeting and the 1991 winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Oxford, 1992):225-237.

French, K., 'Maidens' lights and wives' stores: women's parish guilds in late medieval England, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29/2 (1988):399-425.

- *The people of the parish: community life in a late medieval English diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001).

- 'Women in the late medieval English parish' in M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Gendering the master narrative: women and power in the middle ages* (New York, 2003):156-173.

- *The good women of the parish: gender and religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia, 2007).

Friedman, J., 'Books, owners and makers in fifteenth-century Yorkshire: the evidence from some wills and extant manuscripts' in A. Minnis (ed.), *Latin and vernacular, studies in late-medieval texts and manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989):111-127.

- *Northern English books, owners, and makers in the late middle ages* (New York, 1995).

Galpern, A., 'The legacy of late medieval religion in sixteenth-century Champagne' in C. Trinkhaus and H. Oberman (eds.), *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and renaissance religion: papers from the University of Michigan conference* (Iciden, 1974):141-176.

Gelling, M and H. Foxall, *The place-names of Shropshire, part I* (Irthlingborough, 1990).

Geertz, C., 'Religion as a cultural system' in C. Geertz (ed.) *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (New York, 1973):87-125.

Getz, F., 'The faculty of medicine before 1500' in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992):373-405.

Gilchrist, R., *Norwich Cathedral close, the evolution of the English cathedral landscape* (2nd edn., Woodbridge, 2006).

Girouard, M., *Life in the English country house: a social and architectural history* (Harmondsworth, 1980).

Giuseppi, M., *Guide to the contents of the public record office, volume 1, legal records, etc.* (London, 1963).

Given-Wilson, C., *The royal household and the king's affinity: service, politics and finance in England, 1360-1413* (London, 1986).

Goddard, R., 'Medieval business networks: St Mary's guild and the borough court in later medieval Nottingham', *Urban history* 40/1 (2013):3-27.

Goering, J., 'Burgh, John (fl. 1370-1398)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):783-784.

Goose, N and N. Evans, 'Wills as an historical source' in Arkell, T. et al (ed.) *When death do us part. Understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England* (Oxford, 2000):38-71.

Goldberg, P. 'Women' in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994):112-131.

- *Medieval England, a social history 1250-1550* (London, 2004).

Golding, B., *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine order, c. 1130-c.1300* (Oxford, 1995).

Goodman, A., *Katherine Swynford* (Lincoln, 1994).

Goose, N., 'The English almshouse and the mixed economy of welfare: medieval to modern', *The Local Historian*, 40/1 (2010):3-19.

Gordon B., and Marshall, P., 'Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000):1-16.

Granovetter, M., 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78/6 (1973):1360-1380.

Green, V., *The commonwealth of Lincoln College 1427-1977* (Oxford, 1979).

Grenville, J., *Medieval housing* (London, 1997).

Hall, D., *English mediaeval pilgrimage* (London, 1967).

Hall, R., and D. Stocker (eds.), *Vicars choral at English cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005).

Hamilton Thompson, A., *The English clergy and their organization in the later middle ages* (Oxford, 1947).

Hanawalt, B., *The ties that bound: peasant families in medieval England*, (2nd edn., Oxford, 1988).

Hanna, R., 'Literacy, schooling, universities' in A. Galloway (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to medieval English culture* (Cambridge, 2011):172-194.

Harding, V., 'Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London' in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600*, (2nd edn., Leicester, 1995):119-135.

- *The dead and the living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, 2002).

Harper, J., 'Music and liturgy, 1300-1600' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.) *Hereford Cathedral: a history* (London, 2000):375-397.

- *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1991).

- 'The vicar choral in choir' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.) *Vicars choral at English cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005):17-22.

Harris, B., 'Sisterhood, friendship and the power of English aristocratic women, 1450-1550' in J. Daybell (ed.), *Women and politics in early modern England, 1450-1700* (Aldershot, 2004):21-50.

- 'The fabric of piety: aristocratic women and the care of the dead, 1450-1550', *Journal of British Studies*, 48/2 (2009):308-335.

Harvey, J., *Catherine Swynford's Chantry* (Lincoln, 1971).

Heale, M., *The dependent priories of medieval English monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004).

- *Monasticism in late medieval England c.1300-1535* (Manchester, 2009).

Heath, P., 'Urban piety in the later middle ages: the evidence of Hull wills', in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century* (Gloucester, 1984):209-234.

Helt, J., 'Women, memory and will-making in Elizabethan England' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000):188-205.

Hicks, M., 'The rising price of piety in the later middle ages' in J. Burton and K. Stöber (eds.), *Monasteries and society in the British isles in the later middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2008).

Hill, J.W.F., *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1965).

Hill, R., and Brooke, C., 'From 627 until the early thirteenth century' in G. Aylmer and R. Cant (eds.) *A history of York Minster* (Oxford, 1977):1-43.

Hole, C., *English shrines and sanctuaries* (London, 1954).

Horden, P., 'Small beer? The parish and the poor and sick in late medieval England', in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds.), *The parish in late medieval England* (Donington, 2006):339-364.

Horrox, R., 'The urban gentry in the fifteenth century' in J. Thomson (ed.), *Towns and townspeople in the fifteenth century* (Gloucester, 1988):22-44.

- 'Service' in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994):61-78.

- 'Burgh, Thomas, Baron Burgh (c.1430–1496)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):787-788.

Howell, C., 'Peasant inheritance customs in the midlands, 1280-1700' in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. Thompson (ed.), *Family inheritance: rural society in Western Europe 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1976):112-155.

Howell, M., 'Fixing moveables: gifts by testament in late medieval Douai', *Past and Present*, 150/1 (1996):3-45.

Jacob, E., 'The medieval chapter of Salisbury cathedral', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 51/186 (1947):479-495.

- 'On the promotion of English university clerks during the later middle ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1/2 (1950):172-186.

- 'English university clerks in the later middle ages: the problem of maintenance' in E. Jacob (ed.), *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (3rd edn., Manchester, 1963):207-239.

James, M., 'Ritual, drama and social body in the late medieval English town', *Past & Present*, 98 (1983):3-29.

Jewell, H., *English local administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, 1972).

Jones, S., Major, K., and Varley, J., *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: I: Priorygate to Pottergate* (Lincoln, 1984).

- *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: II: houses to the South and West of the Minster* (Lincoln, 1987).

- *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: III: houses in Eastgate, Priorygate and James Street* (Lincoln, 1990).
- Jones, S., Major, K., Varley, J., and Johnson, C., *The survey of ancient houses in Lincoln: IV: houses in the Bail: Steep Hill, Castle Hill, and Bailgate* (Lincoln, 1996).
- Kamerick, K., *Popular piety and art in the late middle ages: image worship and idolatry in England 1350-1500* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- Karras, R., *From boys to men: formations of masculinity in late medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2002).
- Keene, D., 'From conquest to capital: St Paul's c.1100-1300' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's, the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004):17-32.
- Kermode, J., 'Sentiment and survival: family and friends in late medieval English towns', *Journal of Medieval History*, 24/5 (1999):5-18.
- Kettle, A., 'City and close: Lichfield in the century before the reformation' in C. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *The Church in pre-reformation society: essays in honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985):158-69.
- '“My wife shall have it”: marriage and property in the wills and testaments of later mediaeval England' in E. Craig (ed.) *Marriage and property, women and marital customs in history* (2nd edn., Aberdeen, 1991):89-103.
- Kissane, A., 'Manibus violentis: touch and sanctuary in medieval Lincoln' in U. Krampl, R. Beck and E. Retaillaud-Bajac (eds), *Les cinq sens de la ville du moyen âge à nos jours* (Tours, 2013):315-327.
- Kleineke, H., and S. Hovland, 'The household and daily life of the dean in the fifteenth century' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004):167-168.
- Kowaleski, M., 'The history of urban families in medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14/1 (1988):47-63.
- Knowles, D., *The religious orders in England: volume II, the end of the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1955).
- *The monastic order in England: a history of its development from the times of St. Dunstan to the fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963).
- Kowaleski, M., 'A consumer economy' in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006):238-259.
- Kreider, A., *English chantries: the road to dissolution* (London, 1979).
- Kuhn, S., (ed.), *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1980).

Kurath, H., and S. Kuhn (eds.), *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1954).

Lawrence, C., *The friars: the impact of the early mendicant movement on Western society* (London, 1994).

Leach, A., *The schools of medieval England*, (2nd edn., London, 1916).

Leader, D., *A history of the University of Cambridge, volume 1: the university to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988).

Lepine, D., 'Education and learning at a medieval English cathedral: Exeter 1380-1548', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32/3 (1981):265-283.

- 'The origins and careers of the canons of Exeter cathedral 1300-1455' in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Religious belief and ecclesiastical careers in late medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991):87-120.

- '“My beloved sons in Christ”: the chapter of Lincoln Cathedral 1300-1541', *Medieval Prosopography*, 16 (1995):89-113.

- *A brotherhood of canons serving God: English secular cathedrals in the later middle ages* (Woodbridge, 1995).

- '“A long way from university”: cathedral canons and learning at Hereford in the fifteenth century' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson: proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2002):178-195.

- '“And alle oure paresshens”: secular cathedrals and parish churches in late medieval England' in C. Burgess and E. Duffy (eds.), *The parish in late medieval England* (Donington, 2006):29-53.

- '“The noiseless tenor of their way”? The lives of the late medieval higher clergy' in J. Boffey and V. Davis (eds.), *Recording medieval lives: proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2009):25-41.

- '“High solemn ceremonies”: the funerary practice of the late medieval English higher clergy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61/1 (2010):18-39.

- 'Cathedrals and charity: almsgiving at English secular cathedrals in the later middle ages', *English Historical Review* 126/522 (2011):1066-1096.

Lepine, D., and Orme, N., *Death and memory in late medieval Exeter* (Exeter, 2003).

Little, A., 'The austin friars of Lincoln' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):219-220.

- 'The black friars of Lincoln' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):220-222.

- 'Grey friars of Lincoln' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):222-224.

- 'The white friars of Lincoln' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):224-225.

Lock, J., 'Retford, Sir Henry (c.1354-1409)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):508.

Loengard, J., '“Plate, good stuff, and household things”: husbands, wives, and chattels in England at the end of the middle ages', *The Ricardian*, 13 (2003):328-340.

- '“Which may be said to be her own”: widows and goods in late-medieval England', in M. Kowaleski and P. Goldberg (eds.), *Medieval domesticity: home, housing and household in medieval England* (Cambridge, 2008):162-176.

Lowe, N., 'Women's devotional bequests of textiles in the late medieval English parish church, c.1350-1550', *Gender & History*, 22/2 (2010):407-429.

Lutton, R., 'Godparenthood, kinship and piety in Tenterden, England 1449-1537' in I. Davis, M. Müller and S. Rees Jones (ed.) *Love, marriage and family ties in the later middle ages* (Turnhout, 2003):217-234.

- *Lollardy and orthodox religion in pre-reformation England: reconstructing piety* (Woodbridge, 2006).

Lytle, G., 'Patronage patterns and Oxford Colleges c.1300-c.1530' in L. Stone (ed.), *The university in society, volume 1: Oxford and Cambridge from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century* (Princeton, 1974):111-149.

Macfarlane, A., *The family life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970).

Maddern, P., '“Best trusted friends”: concepts and practices of friendship among fifteenth-century Norfolk gentry' in N. Rogers (ed.), *England in the fifteenth century, proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton symposium* (Stamford, 1994):100-117.

- 'Friends of the dead: executors, wills and family strategy in fifteenth-century Norfolk' in R. Archer and S. Walker (eds.) *Rulers and ruled in late medieval England: essays presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995):155-174.

Maddison, A., *A short account of the vicars choral, poor clerks, organists and choristers of Lincoln Cathedral* (London, 1878).

Major, K., 'The office of chapter clerk at Lincoln in the middle ages' in V. Ruffer and A. Taylor (eds.), *Medieval studies presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford, 1950):163-188.

- 'The finances of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln from the twelfth to the fourteenth century: a preliminary survey', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 5 (1954):149-167.

- 'Houses in Minster Yard, Lincoln: documentary sources' in T. Heslop and V. Schules (ed.), *Medieval art and architecture at Lincoln Cathedral* (Leeds, 1986):146-147.
- *Lincoln Cathedral: some materials for its history in the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Marchant, R., *The Church under the law: justice, administration and discipline in the diocese of York, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1969).
- Marks, R., *Image and devotion in late medieval England* (Stroud, 2004).
- Masek, R., 'The humanistic interests of the early Tudor episcopate', *American Society of Church History*, 39/1 (1970):5-17.
- Mate, M., *Women in medieval English society* (Cambridge, 1999).
- McFarlane, K., *England in the fifteenth century: collected essays* (London, 1981).
- McHardy, A., 'Some late-medieval Eton College wills', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977):387-395.
- McIntosh, M., 'Local responses to the poor in late medieval and Tudor England', *Continuity and Change*, 3/2 (1988):209-245.
- McRae, B., 'Charity and gild solidarity in late medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32/3 (1993):195-225.
- Meek, E., 'Printing and the English parish clergy in the later middle ages', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11/2 (1997):112-126.
- Meserve, M., *Empires of Islam in renaissance historical thought* (Harvard, 2008).
- Miles, T., and Saunders, A., 'The chantry priests' house at Farleigh Hungerford castle', *Medieval Archaeology*, 19 (1975):165-94.
- Miller, J., *Beads and prayers: the rosary in history and devotion* (London, 2002).
- Mitchell, J., *The Kalela dance: aspects of social relationships among urban Africans in northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1956).
- Mollat, M., *The poor in the middle ages: an essay in social history*, trans A. Goldhammer (London, 1986).
- Moorman, J., *A history of the Franciscan order from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford, 1968).
- Moran, J., *The growth of English schooling 1340-1548: learning, literacy, and laicization in pre-reformation York diocese* (Princeton, 1985).
- Morgan, D., *Visual piety: a history and theory of popular religious images* (London, 1998).

Mullett, M., *Theophylact of Ochrid: reading the letters of a Byzantine archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997).

Murray, J., 'Masculinizing religious life: sexual prowess, the battle for chastity and monastic identity' in P. Cullum and K. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and masculinity in the middle ages* (Cardiff, 2004):24-42.

Nelson, J., 'Family, gender and sexuality in the middle ages' in Michael Bentley (ed.) *Companion to historiography* (2nd edn., London, 2002):153-176.

Norris, M., 'Later medieval monumental brasses: an urban funerary industry and its representation of death' in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992):184-209.

Ollard, S., *Fasti Wyndesorienses: the deans and canons of Windsor* (Windsor, 1950).

Orme, N., *Exeter Cathedral as it was, 1050-1550* (Exeter, 1986).

- *Exeter Cathedral: the first thousand years, 400-1550* (Exeter, 2009).

- 'Education and learning at a medieval English cathedral: Exeter 1380-1548', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32/3 (1981):265-283.

- *Medieval schools: from Roman Britain to renaissance England* (London, 2006).

- *The minor clergy of Exeter Cathedral: biographies, 1250-1548* (Exeter, 2013).

Orme, N., and Webster, M., *The English hospital 1070-1570* (London, 1995).

Owen, D., *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971).

- 'Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England 1300-1550: the records and their interpretation' in D. Baker (ed.), *The materials, sources and methods of ecclesiastical history: papers read at the twelfth summer meeting and the thirteenth winter meeting of the ecclesiastical history society* (Oxford, 1975):199-221.

- 'Historical survey, 1091-1450' in D. Owen (ed.), *A history of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994):112-163.

Page, W. (ed.), *A history of Lincolnshire, volume 2* (London, 1906).

Palmer, J., 'Fr. Georgius de Hungaria, O.P., and the tractatus de moribus condicionibus et nequicia Turcorum', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 34 (1951):44-68.

Pantin, W., 'Medieval English town-house plans', *Medieval Archaeology* 6/7 (1964 for 1962-3):202-239.

Parkes, M., 'The provision of books' in J. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *The history of the University of Oxford, volume 2: late medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 407-483.

- Pearson, S., 'Rural and urban houses 1100-1500: "Urban adaptation" reconsidered' in K. Giles and C. Dyer (eds.), *Town and country in the middle ages: contrasts, contacts and interconnections 1100-1500* (Leeds, 2005):43-64.
- Pederson, F., *Marriage disputes in medieval England* (London, 2000).
- Peters, C., *Patterns of piety: women, gender and religion in late medieval and reformation England*, (3rd edn., Cambridge, 2008).
- Pfaff, R., *The liturgy in medieval England: a history* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Plomer, H., 'Books mentioned in wills', *The Library* 3rd series/7 (1902-1904):99-121.
- Poos, L., *Lower ecclesiastical jurisdictions in late-medieval England: the courts of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, 1336-1349, and the Deanery of Wisbech, 1458-1484* (Oxford, 2001).
- Postles, D., 'Lamps, lights and layfolk: "popular" devotion before the Black Death', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25/2 (1999):97-114.
- Prescott, E., *The English medieval hospital, c.1050-1640* (Melksham, 1992).
- Purvis, J., *A mediaeval act book, with some account of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at York* (York, 1943).
- Quiney, A., *Town houses of medieval Britain* (London, 2003).
- Raban, S., *Mortmain legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Rawcliffe, C., *The Staffords, earls of Stafford and dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978).
- Razi, Z., *Life, marriage and death in a medieval parish: economy, society and demography in Halesowen 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980).
- Rees Jones, S., et al, 'The later medieval English urban household', *History Compass*, 5/1 (2007):121-158.
- Reeves, C., 'Creative scholarship in the cathedrals, 1300-1500' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson: proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton symposium* (Donington, 2002):160-169.
- Reynolds, S., *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1997).
- Richardson, C., 'Household objects and domestic ties' in C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (eds.), *The medieval household in Christian Europe c.850-c.1550: managing power, wealth, and the body* (Turnhout, 2003):433-447.
- Richmond, C., *John Hopton: a fifteenth century Suffolk gentleman* (Cambridge, 1981).

- *The Paston family in the fifteenth century: the first phase* (Cambridge, 1990).
- 'Religion' in Horrox, R., ed. *Fifteenth-century attitudes: perceptions of society in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1994):183-201.
- Rigby, S., *English society in the later middle ages: class, status and gender* (London, 1995).
- Roberts, J., 'Extending the frontiers: scholar collections' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland: volume 1 to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006):292-321.
- Robson, M., 'Benefactors of the greyfriars in York: alms from testators, 1530-1538', *Northern History*, 38/2 (2001):221-139.
- Robson, M., *The Franciscans in the middle ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).
- 'The greyfriars of Lincoln c.1230-1330: the establishment of the friary and the friars' ministry and life in the city and its environs' in M. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (eds.), *Franciscan organisation in the mendicant context: formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the middle ages* (London, 2010):113-137.
- Rogers, A., 'The Lincolnshire county court in the fifteenth century', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 1 (1966):64-78.
- 'Parliamentary electors in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 3 (1968):43-79.
- 'Parliamentary electors in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 4 (1969):33-53.
- 'Parliamentary electors in Lincolnshire in the fifteenth century continued', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 6 (1971):67-81.
- Rosenthal, J., 'Aristocratic cultural patronage and book bequests, 1350-1500', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 64 (1982):522-548.
- 'The northern clergy: clerical wills and family ties', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999):147-60.
- 'Clerical book bequests: *A vade mecum*, but whence and whither?' in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and learning in later medieval society: essays in honour of R. B. Dobson* (Donington, 2002):327-343.
- Rosser, G., 'Communities of parish and guild in the late middle ages' in S. Wright (ed.), *Parish, Church and people: local studies in lay religion, 1350-1750* (London, 1988):29-55.
- Rosser, G., *Medieval Westminster* (Oxford, 1989).

Rousseau, M., 'Chantry chaplains at St Paul's Cathedral, London ca. 1200-1548', *Medieval Prosopography*, 26 (2005):197-314.

- *Saving the souls of medieval London: perpetual chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c.1200-1548* (Farnham, 2011).

Rubin, M., *Charity and community in medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987).

- 'Small groups: identity and solidarity in the late middle ages' in J. Kermode (ed.), *Enterprise and individuals in fifteenth-century England* (Stroud, 1991):132-150.

- 'The Eucharist and the construction of medieval identities' in D. Aers (ed.), *Culture and history, 1350-1600: essays on English communities, identities and writing* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992):42-63.

Rubin, M., 'Identities' in R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2006):383-412.

Sargent, M., ed., *De cella in secularum; religious and secular life and devotion in late medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989).

Saul, N., *Knights and esquires: the Gloucestershire gentry in the fourteenth century* (Oxford, 1981).

Saul, N., *Scenes from provincial life: knightly families in Sussex 1280-1400* (Oxford, 1986).

Saul, N., *Death, art and memory in medieval England* (Oxford, 2001).

Saul, N., 'Servants of God and crown: the canons of St George's Chapel, 1348-1420' in N. Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the fourteenth century* (Woodbridge, 2005).

Scarisbrick J., *The reformation and the English people* (Oxford, 1984).

Schofield, J., and G. Stell, 'The built environment 1300-1540' in D. Palliser, P. Clark and M. Daunton (eds.) *The Cambridge urban history of Britain, volume 1:600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000):371-394.

Schofield, J., *Medieval London houses*, (2nd edn., London, 2003).

Setton, K., *Western hostility to Islam and prophecies of Turkish doom* (Philadelphia, 1992).

Shoesmith, R., 'The close and its buildings' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (ed.) *Hereford Cathedral, A history* (London, 2000):293-311.

Sheehan, M., *The will in medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century* (Toronto, 1963).

- Shull, V., 'Clerical drama in Lincoln cathedral, 1318-1561', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 52 (1937):946-966.
- Spear, D., *The personnel of the Norman cathedrals during the ducal period, 911-1204* (London, 2006).
- Sponsler, C., *Drama and resistance: bodies, goods and theatricality in late medieval England* (Minneapolis, 1997).
- Spufford, M., *Contrasting communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1974).
- Srawley, J. (ed.), *The book of John de Schalby* (Lincoln, 1949).
- Srawley, J., *The origin and growth of cathedral foundations as illustrated by the cathedral church of Lincoln* (2nd edn., London, 1951).
- Steer, C., 'Commemoration and women in medieval London', in M. Davies and A. Prescott (eds.) *London and the kingdom: essays in honour of Caroline M. Barron* (Donington, 2008):230-245.
- Steane, J., *The archaeology of power, England and northern Europe AD 800-1600* (Stroud, 2001).
- Stocker, D., (ed), *The city by the pool: assessing the archaeology of the city of Lincoln* (Oxford, 2003).
- 'The development of the college of vicars choral at Lincoln Minster' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (eds.), *Vicars choral at English cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005):76-97.
- Stokes, J., 'Staging wonders: ritual and space in the drama and ceremony of Lincoln Cathedral and its environs' in F. Andrews (ed.), *Ritual and space in the middle ages: proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2011):197-212.
- Storey, R., *Diocesan administration in fifteenth-century England*, 2nd edn (York, 1981).
- *The end of the house of Lancaster*, (2nd edn., Stroud, 1999).
- Stratford J., and Webber, T., 'Bishops and kings: private book collections in medieval England' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge history of libraries in Britain and Ireland, volume 1: to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006):178-217.
- Sutton, A., and Visser-Fuchs, L., ' "Chevalerie...in som partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in some part to ben amendid": chivalry and the Yorkist kings' in C. Richmond and E. Scarff (eds.), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the late middle ages* (Windsor, 2001):107-133.
- Sutton, A., and Visser-Fuchs, L., 'The sun in splendour and the rose reborn: a Yorkist mayor of Lincoln and his book of hours', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 57 (2013):195-246

Swanson, J., 'Holcot, Robert (c.1290-1349)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):595-597.

Swanson, R., 'Universities, graduates and benefices in later medieval England', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985):28-61.

- 'Learning and livings: university study and clerical careers in later medieval England', *History of Universities*, 6 (1986-7):81-103.

- *Church and society in late medieval England* (Oxford, 1989).

- 'Problems of the priesthood in pre-reformation England', *English Historical Review*, 105/417 (1990), 845-869.

- *Catholic England: faith, religion, and observance before the reformation* (Manchester, 1993).

- *Religion and devotion in Europe - c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995).

- 'Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to reformation' in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999):160-177.

- 'Flemming, Richard (d. 1431), Bishop of Lincoln' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB*:78-80.

Swanson, R., and D. Lepine, 'The later middle ages, 1268-1535' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral, a history* (London, 2000):48-86.

Tabbagh, V., *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae, répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500: II Rouen* (Turnhout, 1998).

Tanner, N., *The Church in late medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984).

- *The ages of faith: popular religion in late medieval England and Western Europe* (London, 2009).

Tatton-Brown, T., 'The vicar's hall and close at Chichester Cathedral' in R. Hall and D. Stocker (ed.), *Vicars choral at English cathedrals: cantate domino: history, architecture and archaeology* (Oxford, 2005):23-28.

Taylor, J., 'The diocese of York and the university connexion, 1300-1520', *Northern History* 25 (1989):39-59.

Taylor, P., 'Foundation and endowment: St Paul's and the English kingdoms, 604-1087' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: the cathedral church of London 604-2004* (London, 2004):5-16.

Thomson, J., 'Russell, John (c.1430-1494)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB*: 276-278.

- Thomson, R., *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral chapter library* (Woodbridge, 1989).
- Thompson B., 'Pecham, John (c.1230-1292)' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):368.
- Tout, T., *Chapters in the administrative history of mediaeval England, the wardrobe, the chamber and the small seals, volume 1* (Manchester, 1920).
- Trapp, J., 'The humanist book' in L. Hellinga and J. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain, volume 3: 1400-1547* (Cambridge, 1999):285-315.
- Tringham, N., 'The cathedral and the close' in M. Greenslade (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Stafford 14: Lichfield* (Lichfield, 1990):47-67.
- Tyack, G., *Historic dress of the clergy* (London, 1897).
- Van Houts, E., 'Introduction: medieval memories' in *Medieval memories: men, women and the past, 700-1300* (Harlow, 2001):1-16.
- Venables, E., 'The shrine and head of St Hugh of Lincoln', *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, 21/2 (1891-2):131-151.
- Warren, A., *Anchorites and their patrons in medieval England* (California, 1985).
- Watkins, C., 'Sin, penance and purgatory in the Anglo-Norman realm: the evidence of visions and ghost stories', *Past & Present*, 175 (2002):3-33.
- Webber, T., 'Osmund [St Osmund] (d. 1099), Bishop of Salisbury' in H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004):58-60.
- Weiss, R., *Humanism in England during the fifteenth century*, (3rd edn., London, 1967).
- Westlake, H., *The parish gilds of mediaeval England* (London, 1919).
- Williamson, D., *Lincoln muniments* (London, 1956).
- Wood-Legh, K. L., *Perpetual chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965).
- Woolley, R., *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral chapter library* (Oxford, 1927).
- Wordsworth, C., *Notes on mediaeval services in England: with an index of Lincoln ceremonies* (London, 1898).
- Wragge, P., 'Lincoln Cathedral' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln, volume two* (London, 1906):80-96.
- Wright, S., *The Derbyshire gentry in the fifteenth century* (Chesterfield, 1983).

Wrightson, K., and Levine, D., *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995).

Zell, M., 'The personnel of the clergy in Kent in the reformation period', *English Historical Review*, 89 (1974):513-533.

Zell, M., 'Fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century wills as historical sources', *Archives*, 14/62 (1979):67-74.

Zemon Davis, N., 'Some tasks and themes in the study of popular religion' in C. Trinkhaus and H. Oberman (eds.), *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and renaissance religion: papers from the University of Michigan conference* (Leiden, 1974):307-336.

Unpublished Secondary Sources

Bennett, N., 'Unpublished list of parishes in the medieval diocese of Lincoln' based on H. Salter (ed.), *A subsidy collected in the diocese of Lincoln in 1526* (Oxford, 1909).

Garton, C., *Lincoln school 1300-1500, a draft history* (Unpublished Typescript, Lincoln Cathedral Library, 1981).

Kilby, F., *The royal household chapel in early-Tudor London, 1485-1547* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996).

Kissane, A., *Lay urban identities in late medieval Lincoln 1288-1400* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2013).

Mackman, J., *The Lincolnshire gentry and the Wars of the Roses*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1999).

Southworth, C., *Pluralism and stability in the close: the canons of Lichfield Cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century* (Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012).

Ward, M., *The livery collar: politics and identity in fifteenth-century England* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2013).

Williams, S., "Cronica der Tuerkey" Sebastian Franck's translation of the "Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequitia Turcorum" by Georgius de Hungaria (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1991).